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THE

SECRET CORRESPONDENCE

O F

Sir ROBERT CECIL

WITH

JAMES VI. King of SCOTLAND.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand, LONDON.

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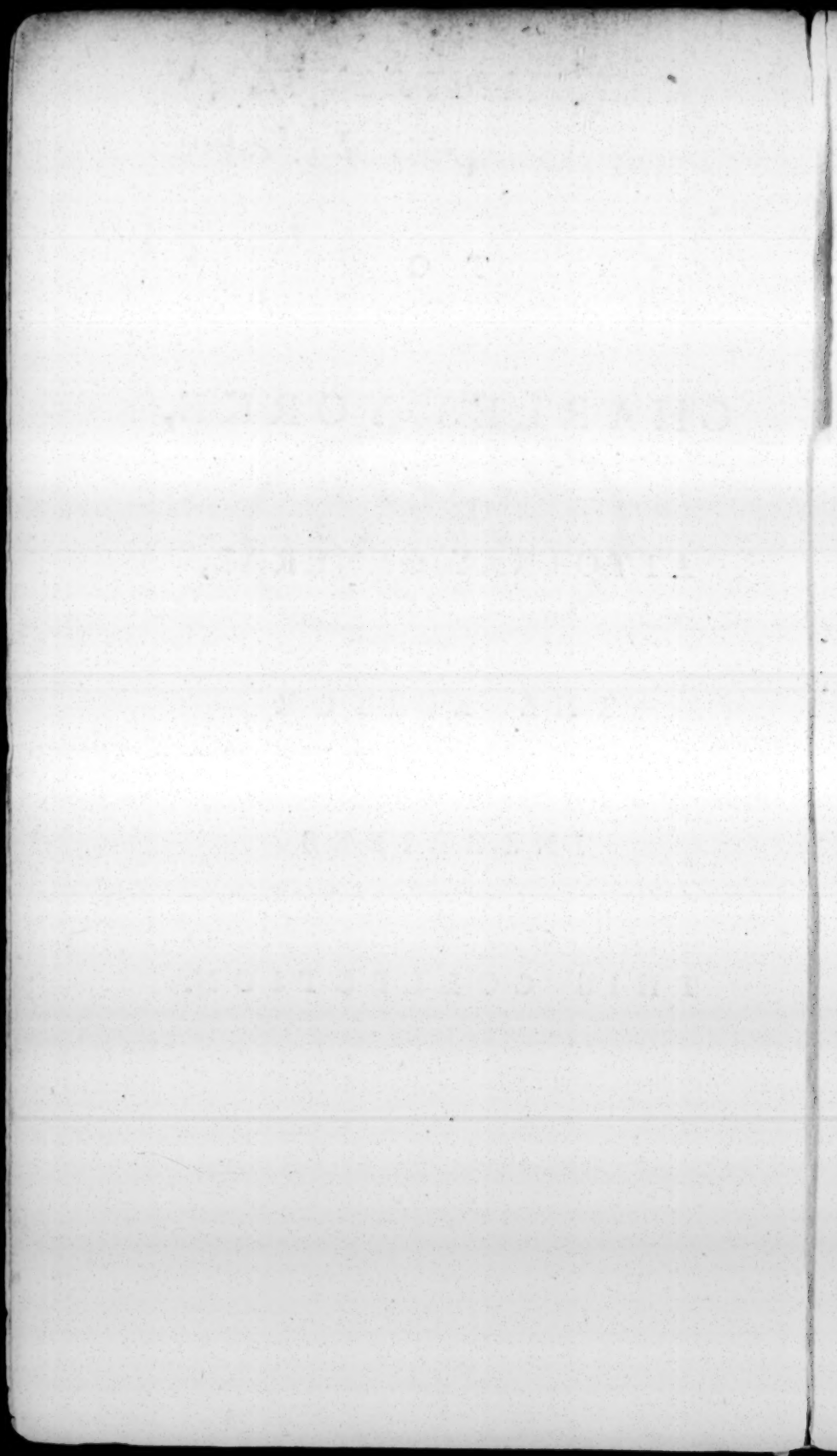
CHARLES YORKE,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

THE EDITOR

INSCRIBES

THIS COLLECTION.



ADVERTISEMENT.

“ **A**S Elifabeth advanced in
“ years, the English turned
“ their eyes more and more to-
“ wards Scotland, and were eager
“ to prevent each other in court-
“ ing the favour of their future
“ monarch. Assurances of attach-
“ ment, professions of regard, and
“ promises of support, were offer-
“ ed to James from every corner
“ of the kingdom. Cecil himself,
“ perceiving what hopes Essex had
“ founded on the friendship of the
“ Scottish King, and what ad-
“ vantages he might have derived
“ from it, thought it prudent to
“ stand no longer at a distance
“ from a Prince, who might so-
“ soon become his master. But
“ being sensible, at the same time,
“ how dangerous such an inter-
“ course

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“ course might prove, under a
“ mistress naturally jealous, and
“ whose jealousy grew stronger
“ with old age, though he entered
“ into a correspondence with him,
“ he carried it on with all the se-
“ crecy and caution necessary in
“ his situation, and peculiar to his
“ character.”

The correspondence to which Dr Robertson here alludes, is now presented to the public: It was conducted on the part of Cecil by Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton: The confidants employed by King James were the Earl of Marr and Mr Edward Bruce of Kinloss. Notwithstanding the anxious and repeated injunctions of Cecil “to destroy
“ every letter,” great part of this correspondence has been preserved. Some of the original letters are in
the

ADVERTISEMENT. vii

the Advocates Library, at Edinburgh; copies of others, transcribed from the archives of the family of Marr, are in the possession of Earl Hardwicke.

The *secret instructions*, which stand first in this collection, were published by the worthy and industrious Dr Birch, in his "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth," vol. 2. p. 510.; but, by following too scrupulously the uncouth spelling of King James, he left this curious piece altogether unintelligible to most English readers. I have printed it from the original, without any alteration except as to orthography. All the other letters are now for the first time published.

In the notes to this edition, some obscure phrases are explained, and some historical passages illustrated. I must however acknowledge,
that

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that there are various particulars in the letters, of which I do not comprehend the meaning. The correspondence itself is mysterious, and contains many imperfect hints and allusions, for understanding of which, great knowledge in the history of that age would be required. The style of Lord Henry Howard is affectedly dark and perplexed; and, to add to the distress of a publisher, his hand-writing is scarcely legible.

By what arts it was that Cecile established himself in the favour of King James, and at the same time supplanted his rivals, will appear from the perusal of the following sheets. The reader may probably be of opinion, that this consummate politician was no less solicitous to maintain his own power, than to settle the succession to his aged benefactress Queen Elisabeth.

DAV. DALRYMPLE.

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L E T T E R I.

*James VI. King of Scotland, to the
Earl of Marr, and Mr Edward
Bruce, his ambassadors at the court
of Queen Elisabeth *.*

MY Lord, and your fellow-labourer, according to your desire in your last letter, I have considered upon your three doubts, and has [have] thought good hereby to send you a resolution thereof under my own hand.

As for the *first*, then, how to walk surely betwixt these two precipices of the Queen and the people, who now appear to be in so contrary terms, the only right outgate [issue] therein is, to be well and surely informed of the people's present disposition and inclination, and to conform your behaviour accordingly;

* I have presumed to modernize the spelling of this dispatch, which would otherwise be unintelligible to many readers.

A

that

that is, to know with which of two sorts of discontentment the people are presently possessed; whether it be only against the present rulers in the court, keeping always that due reservation of love and reverence to the Queen which they were ever wont to do; or if the discontentment be grown to that height, that they are not able any longer to comport either with prince or state; which I can hardly believe, having tint [lost], if they had been so minded, so many fair occasions as have at this time been offered unto them. For if their discontentment be after the first sort, then will they be content, and allow that ye keep in good terms with the Queen, and dally with the present guiders; building, in the mean time, the surety of your hopes upon the pillars of their heart; and if it be after the last, then are ye to be resolved of their course therein, and by what means they are able to effectuate the same; upon the knowledge whereof, I shall then determine what your part shall be: for, above

bove all, ye must in this errand learn to be well fenced; the chief property whereof is, to take the time right: which will make you eschew the two extremities; either by precipitation to mar all for lack of good backing; or else by starting too late, (if they groan so under the burden that they are like to faint), to give the people a ground of excuse, that by suffering them to be overthrown for not declaring myself in time, they were forced to sue to other saints, for shunning of their present overthrow. But, in this last point, be a care with the facility of the people, and the craft of the council; for I know they concluded, before that ever they saw you, to deny you whatever you craved, thereby to force me to kythe [appear] in my own colours, as they call it.

As to your *next* doubt, it touches the main ground of your commission, which, if ye deeply consider, ye cannot misbehave yourselves therein. For at the time of your dispatch, things

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were so miscarried by that unfortunate accident *, as I was out of all hope that ye could come any speed at the Queen and council's hand, anent [concerning] the main point: and therefore your whole commission was divided into two parts; to wit, to deal with the Queen and present guiders, and to deal with the people: with the first publicly, and for the present time; with the next privately, and for the future time: with the first, to obtain a surety for holding off of evil, since there was small appearance of the grant of any good; with the next, to obtain a certain assurance for the furtherance of future hopes: and therefore the particular points that ye was to crave of the Queen and council were, *first*, to release, or give just punishment for certain and proved offences to all such as are detained only for speaking with me,

* Meaning the fall of Essex.

and

and specially for poor Ivers *. The next is, to give out a plain declaration, which must be enacted in her own records, that I am untouched in any action or practice that ever hath been intended against her, especially in this last ; wherein I wonder that, according to your former letter, ye have written nothing in this last. The *third* is, that hereafter a difference be put betwixt such honest men of her subjects as shall be known to love and deal with me, and those that practise with her greatest enemies or rebels. The *fourth* is, that she would liberally consider of my necessities, holding forth in that point your suit already begun, for the lands of my grandmo-

* Sir William Evers. He was imprisoned " for coming secretly to see the King in Scotland, which he afterwards abjured, when the contrary was plain, and so only imputed to him in that respect *pro delicto*;" Cecil in *Windwood's memorials*, vol. 1. p. 324, 325. King James set him at liberty immediately after the death of Queen Elizabeth; R. Johnston, *Rer. Britan. Hister.* p. 186.

ther. And the *last*, and of most importance, is, that it would please her to remember her old promise, that nothing shall be done by her, in her time, in prejudice of my future right, nor *no check under cure* * reserved against me; excepted always, if she be not to endure as long as the sun and the moon. In these heads, ye must so deal with Mr Secretary †, and her principal guiders, as ye may assure them, that, as I find my requests answered in these points, I will make account of their affections towards me accordingly; and if in these points I be satisfied, that ye have power to give them full assurance of my favour, especially to Mr Secretary ‡, who is king there in effect.

And as to your doubt in what fort to leave there [to depart from thence],

* So the original runs; the sense is not obvious.

† Sir Robert Cecil.

‡ Sir Robert Cecil. He took this hint, and profited exceedingly by it, as will appear in the sequel.

it

it must be according to the answer ye shall receive to the former demands: for if ye be well satisfied therein, then must ye have a sweet and kind parting; but if ye get nothing but a flat and obstinate denial, which I do surely look for, then are ye in both the parts of your commission to behave yourselves thus: *First*, Ye must be the more careful, since ye come so little speed in your public employment with the Queen, to set forward so much the more your private negotiation with the country; and if ye see, that the people be not in the highest point of discontentment, (whereof I already spake), then must ye by your labours with them make your voyage at least not all utterly unprofitable, which doth consist in these points. *First*, To obtain all the certainty ye can of the town of London, that in the due time they will favour the right. *Next*, To renew and confirm your acquaintance with the Lieutenant of the Tower. *Thirdly*, To obtain as great a certainty

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as ye can of the fleet, by the means of Lord Henry Howard's nephew *, and of some sea-ports. *Fourthly*, To secure the hearts of as many noblemen and knights as ye can get dealing with, and to be resolved what every one of their parts shall be at the great day. *Fifthly*, To foresee anent [concerning] armour for every shire, that, against that day, my enemies have not the whole commandment of the armour, and my friends only be unarmed. *Sixthly*, That, as ye have written, ye may distribute good seminaries through every shire, that may never leave working in the harvest, while the day of reaping come: and generally, to leave all things in such certainty and order, as the enemies be not able in the mean time to lay such bars in my way, as shall make things remediless, when the time shall come.

Now, as to the terms ye shall leave in with the Queen, in case of the

* Probably Lord Thomas Howard.

foresaid

foresaid flat denial, let your behaviour ever be with all honour, respect, and love to her person; but at your parting, ye shall plainly declare unto her, that she cannot use me so hardly, as it shall be able to make me forget any part of that love and respect that I owe to her as to my nearest kinswoman; and that the greatest revenge that ever I shall take of her, shall be to pray to God to open her eyes, and to let her see, how far she is wronged by such base instruments about her, as abuse her ear; and that, although I shall never give her occasion of grief in her time, yet the day may come, when I will crave account at them of their presumption, when there will be no bar betwixt me and them; and ye shall plainly declare to Mr Secretary, and his followers, that since now, when they are in their kingdom, they will thus misknow me, when the chance shall turn, I shall cast a deaf ear to their requests; and whereas now I would have been content to have given them by your means a pre-
assurance

assurance of my favour, if at this time they had pressed to deserve the same; so now they contemning it, may be assured never hereafter to be heard, but all the Queen's hard usage of me to be hereafter craved at their hands: And thus shall ye part, without any just offence to the Queen; please the humour of the people, and use no greater threatenings, than such as I shall be very able to perform in the own [proper] time: but above all, ye must not forget to deal as earnestly as ye can for obtaining your declarator, that I am clear and untouched in any of those practices, which, if by no means ye can get granted unto you, then must ye desire to be publicly heard before the nobility and whole council, and, if it can be possible, in the Star Chamber, where having delaited [informed] how many vile and untrue calumnies have from time to time been spread of me, that I should have been upon the counsel of diverse practices against the Queen's person and state, notwithstanding

standing of my ever upright and honourable dealing with her, that ye are come there to declare unto them how, in my name, ye have earnestly craved of the Queen and council, that I might now be cleared of all these imputations; which being denied unto you, ye could do no less than publicly there to protest ye are, and ever were, ready to answer, in case she would have accused you of such practices; otherwise, if nothing be laid to my charge during your presence, that ye protest, that I shall be counted clear of any such imputations for all times hereafter; and this for fear of after-checks; and that ye desire this protestation to be enacted [entered] in their records; and this, *ex jure gentium*, cannot well be refused unto you. Ye see now, how your doubts obscurely proponed, without making me particularly acquainted how matters go, hath forced me, against my nature, to write rather in an historical than logical style: justly ye may be as fore wearied in reading as I was in writing

writing hereof. But I must conclude now, with giving you a check that ye are so hasty to return, as ye begin to count the day thereof before ye see the end of your errand ; which is of that weight, that I as master, and ye as servants, must set our whole rests upon the well-going thereof, respecting not *quam cito*, but *quam bene*, you may put an end to your affairs there. It shall not also be amiss, that ye impart such parts of this letter to such known and trusty friends, as ye know shall have a sympathy with their humours ; making end with my hearty wishes to God, that he may so prosper your labours, as the fruits thereof may yield contentment to me, a security to that afflicted estate and country, and honour to yourselves that are employed ministers therein. And thus I bid you heartily farewell.

From Linlithgow, the JAMES R.*
8th of April [1601].

* Whatever may have been King James's character as a man, or his conduct as a monarch, it seems evident from this dispatch, that his judgement was sound, and his apprehension clear.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R II.

Lord Henry Howard to the Earl of Marr.

I Shall not need to fear any surfeit of long writing, most dear and noble Earl of Marr, when my constitution and affection, at the first accident that either sounds the name of King James, or concerns his service, not only digests crudities, but gives a fresh appetite. I need no other motive for my encouragement to adventure my best wares in this ship, than that the pilot's name is *Erskine*, and as little removed from yourself in honour as in consanguinity.

I shall not need to repeat any thing that is written to King James; because I think his Majesty will impart them at his leisure. I will only remember some particulars, which I could not insert there for fear of spinning out my lines into great length; and therefore it may please your Lordship to supply this as it were out of a second infusion.

B

* My

* My Lord of Shrewsbury, of whose idol's sublimation, or, at the least, of a purpose to make her higher, by as many steps as ascend to the scaffold, if she follow some mens counsels, hath been desperately sick, not only of the strangury, but withal of such fevers symptomatical out of smart and agony, insomuch as it is not possible, that he should live long in this torment, if it continue; for the neck of the bladder is so raw, as it should appear, by excoriation, (which is the disease whereof Hatton the chancellor deceased), as unless they can by lenitives diminish some part of that acrimony which brings on these fevers, and enforceth him to roar at every avoidance, which is every hour *violenter*, cannot be *perpetua*. Now that the Queen hath satisfied the world, in calling into her council some of the nobi-

* Some words seem wanting to complete the sense of this paragraph, which is very obscure. It is probable, that by the *idol* is meant, the unfortunate Lady Arbella Stewart.

lity

lity that is truly ancient; I think she would be glad, that he should give way to another; for since his admission, she neither asked his advice in any thing, nor ever called him into any cause of weight, whereof, before his sickness, he both complained bravely, and mutinied. He hath married a daughter * to the nephew † of my Lord of Kent, but without addition either of ability or allies: for beside that the young gentleman is of my Lord Simple's house, and as silly as his father-in-law is shrewd, it is certain also, that my Lord of Kent will not participate of those inventions and practices. One of the chiefest causes that induced my Lady of Shrewsbury to desire so much the calling of her husband into council, was, because she thought that place would clear him of contagion, and encourage friends to show their affections more freely without fear; but I do assure your Lordship, they are less respected

* Elisabeth.
Earl of Kent.

† Charles Grey, afterwards

than before, and hold it more dangerous to adhere to a figure with a fraction, than to a cipher in his singularity.

The Queen's suspicion of the Duke's arrival at the very jump of a parliament *, is somewhat qualified, though not wholly quenched, by the Duke's forbearing to speak any thing from the King, to disquiet her; but she is still infinitely offended with the very rumour both in England, and advertised from foreign parts, that such a mystery was looked for; and that the people speak as freely by this occasion, as if the title had been argued, and establishment agreed upon.

The Master of Gray writes to Cecil earnestly, that the Duke may be royally entertained by her Majesty, and much favoured by Cecil himself; because he says, that King James is inclined ever to value those chiefly that are best able to do him service here. Wherefore he doubts not, but if the Duke may be

* Duke of Lenox. It met October 27. 1601.

sent home with the favour of the Queen, he shall be better able to blank some that have eclipsed him; which is a thing, as he says, that many worthy men desire, that would be more industrious and ready to serve the Queen, as he says, than the Earl of Marr and all his followers. This counsel unto Cecil, as he says, proceeds not out of any particular, but out of special affection to him, and a great desire that he may be rather fitted with a friend, whom the state of Scotland loves and honours, than with such as he must chuse, if he will chuse according to the flourish of the present time, as they hate and envy. By this it appears, that none of them have yet any true light, or likely proof of any thing; which pleaseth Cecil exceedingly. Thus far their practice serves our turn, to descry their malice; and make Cecil see plainly, that according to vows and promises, he is nobly and soundly dealt withal; and that for want of demonstration, these active gallants are forced to exercise their nimble wits in

conjecture and prophecy. He proceeds a little farther yet, and writes to Cecil, that King James, speaking with a friend of his, should say, that he marvelled that, though the Earl of Marr brought the packets which he received out of England to his own hands continually, yet the Master of Gray receiving advertisements from sundry of his choicest friends, did not deliver them “Hereupon,” says Gray, “to win his favour, without any prejudice to yourself, because your letter contained nothing unfit for him to see, I sent him the last letter which I received from yourself; which he conceived in very good part: and above all, he commended my intention and endeavour,” says Gray, “to make a league between you and his treasurer, which the letter did specify.” In conclusion, he adviseth Cecil to write some letters to him privately, some time, in such a style, as being read by King James, may in divers degrees do good both to himself and Cecil; which is the scope of his industry.

industry. All this wind shakes no corn; because Cecil thinks that poetry about the packets, that are said to be delivered by the Earl of Marr, to have been only an artifice to discover by Cecil's answer, whether any such convoy were fixed; or in case there were not, to his knowledge, then to stir up in Cecil a strong and curious desire to inquire and discover who they are in England that love the Earl of Marr with true affection. But never was jackdaw so well cozened in his own school-points and quiddities; though Cecil forbid me to advertise these particulars, because they are of no great consequence to the main: and yet he thinks, that any one of these small leaks would let in a great deal of water into the vessel of our traffic, if the least point come to discovery.

* Kildare, out of rage that her grand
leak

* All the circumstances about Lady Kildare are very obscure. Lady Kildare was a widow
mentioned

leak hath had a stop, though with all the kindness, caution, and consideration that discretion can devise, as before this you know, is almost mad; and challenged Cecil to his face as author and contriver of this inhibition, by discovering some things to King James, as she had imparted heretofore to himself in confidence. Your Lordship need not doubt, but in answering, he played his master's prize, sometimes scoffing, sometimes braving her. Whereupon I caused 9 to speak with her again, and so strongly to insist by way of discourse, upon probable suspicions, or rather evident demonstrations of the ill affection of Cecil to King James, as her idle apprehensions might spend and vanish, for want of proof or probability to

mentioned in several letters in the second volume of the *Sidney Papers*, as very desirous of being married to Lord Cobham. In one of Mr Rowland Whyte, dated at the court at Nonsuch, 23d August 1600, he says, "it was credibly said, though it be very secret, that my Lord Cobham was married to my Lady Kildare."

warrant

warrant them. After the round speech of Cecil with her, she spake with 9 in another style; ascribing his malice toward her, only to the constancy of her devotion to Cecil. But yet she laid down likelihoods of her precedent imagination, that Cecil was well affected to the King; which both her own repentance upon better arguments, and 9's reasons satisfied. She was in such a passion out of disdain, as I assure your Lordship, that if she [had] been discovered and detected to the Queen by Cobham, as for a week and more the Queen's strange countenance to her, gave us all cause to fear, she was resolved to have accused Cecil also, with as many probabilities as suspicion and spleen could heap together, of running the same course with King James, to the utter ruin of all his best advantages. For to my own worthy nephew, the Lord Thomas Howard, who is her counsellor at these hard streights, she threatened to break the neck of that weasel (which was her own term) that
 had

had disgraced her ; but the particular she told him not.

I think that 9 will signify some part of these proceedings ; which I leave to him, and only beseech your Lordship to present this figure to the wisdom of King James ; who will soon perceive what proportion there is between the good that possibly can grow from such a busy body as understands no secret of the state, nor so much as ordinary passages (because her own sex dare not speak before her), and the plunge she puts the King's friends and affairs to, by these passions and precipitations, upon every accident that troubles her. She is now put into the vein of seeking by good means to draw Cecil to favour King James : and here we mean to hold her, till the latter day, for any good she shall ever work by her endeavour. For I have advised Cecil, by this advantage of her intermeddling, to make that impression of his respect to King James, which may wear out those marks which facility had left in her mind

mind before ; and make her see her own idleness in aiming at impossibilities ; for believe it, that she keepeth in her mind a large memorial of all advantages by word or action that may hold those persons in this place in awe, that she would reign over.

God be praised, that the King's fall did him no more hurt. God sends these warnings, to make worthy servants see how well it becometh them to let him know of what importance these adventures are ; and that this violence in exercise will every day less stand with his own security, with his country's good, and the grave conceit which the world holds of him. This were the way for aspirers and competitors, as one said to Alexander, *in capite orbis litem finiendi*. It were the next mean, as one said to David, *extinguendi lucernam in Israel*. It were that error which discretion forbids, to carry elixir in a glass ; and I dare undertake my Lord of Shrewsbury would have one disease more than he hath yet, upon condition

condition that King James would be still as careless of his royal person, and of his future state, as he hath been hitherto. But the more eager that such cockatrices are of like accidents, the more ought servants of our strong affection to quiver and tremble in our very souls; putting his Majesty often in mind of that old axiom, *That frustra Neptunum invocat, qui bis ad eundem impingit scopulum.* If I were in the place of admonition, and by nature tongue-tied, as some are; I do protest, that the like occasion would break the string, and give utterance.

I beseech your Lordship to devise some course, by direction of his Majesty, how this bad person, Hamilton, may be diverted eternally from hence; for it is he, that finding by his elvish wit, that there is secret motion which no man's eye can sensibly discern, puts Kildare in passion with ideas of disgrace; stirs the poor Duke to ambition by suggesting weather-galls, and infuseth reasons and illusions to Bel-trees;

trees; who, like an organ, sounds when the other blows, according to the motions of his own unquiet thoughts, which affect to be singular. I have left this matter wholly to my letter at this time to worthy Mr Edward Bruce, who will acquaint his Majesty and you with all that hath passed in that mystery.

This parliament hath no other scope nor object than the subsidy; though it treat of other matters *obiter*, but chiefly of pluralities among the priests, and monopolies * among the laity: though little I think will be done, the one pinching present possessors, the other paring and impairing the prerogative; which the older the Queen grows, the more she will desire to fortify.

Touching succession, nothing propounded in figure, nothing conceived in prejudice; but all minds as thoroughly persuaded of one truth, one

* Many monopolies were given up this parliament, and the Queen thought it prudent to shew some complaisance to her people.

right, one claim, as if all the states had concluded it.

The Queen in all her robes had fallen the first day of the parliament, if some gentlemen had not suddenly cast themselves under that side that tottered, and supported her. The King did fall without harm; the French King, with a great bruise; which proves, that some great planet in this configuration, was precipitate. But God is gracious: *Et sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Pardon my scribbling, dear Lord, for I am infinitely weary. The punishment I would have laid on the papers themselves, and that they may be burned when you have perused them. I wish your Lordship all happiness, and myself in your comfort; for so I am sure I should not be very far from Sol, when I were next to Mercury. Till which happy hour, I rest now and ever,

Your Lordship's most affectionately,
devoted to love and honour you,

Nov. 22. [1601.]

HENRY HOWARD.

L E T T E R

L E T T E R III.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr E. Bruce.

MOst dear and worthy Mr Bruce,
 my purpose was at this time to
 have imparted this discourse to King
 James with my own hand; though I
 confess, that where confidence is in
 common, distributions are indifferent:
 But fearing probably lest his Majesty
 having taken a surfeit of the length of
 that letter which I send by this dis-
 patch, might hold me indiscreet for
 seeking with a carbonado to give him
 a fresh appetite; wherefore I hope you
 will pardon me in using your pain to
 impart to King James these particulars;
 and the rather because you may cull out
 the chiefest points that in this second
 freight or after-burden come to be con-
 sidered. It were a greater ease both for
 you and me, if I did stabber up adver-
 tisements in paste, and shred the sub-
 stance into such small pieces as would

less offend the stomach, and were more fit for a pye than for a prover; but knowing that it is not possible without infusion of all ingredients to make that sovereign restorative that should do good to King James, I presume of your patience, holding it a less fault to present the matter *in hypostasi*, with declaration of all due circumstance, whereby the person whom it chiefly concerns may know both what and how to judge *ex libertate arbitrii*, than to tie him to the measures of my own conceit, which is inferior to his, or leave willfulness to future censuring, in case that any thing were left out by my negligence, which being plainly laid down to the King's deep piercing eyesight, *dum res erat integra*, might perhaps have induced him both to judge and to direct otherwise. You shall observe, dear Mr Bruce, by some of the letters, which I hope by this time are come to your hands, that I gave notice of a dialogue between the Queen and Cobham, wherein Cobham spiced Cecil as
soundly

foundly touching idle apprehensions of his inclining to the side of King James, as his wit would enable him. You know beside, that when the Queen excused Cecil, so as that there were no further hope of working his malicious desire, nor of disgracing one (without such demonstrations, as it were better he were strangled, than he could produce) whom she reputes a pillar and supporter of her state, he made shew to give back, and rather fear facility than corruption in the person whom he found her set and resolute to justify. You must remember also, that I gave you notice of the diabolical triplicity, that is, Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland, that met every day at Durham-house, where Raleigh lies in consultation, which awaked all the best wits of the town out of suspicions of fundry kinds, to watch what chickens they could hatch out of these cockatrice-eggs that were daily and nightly sitten on. These things I am inforced to repeat, that that which follows may be

be better understood; for *ex unguibus leonem, ex cauda scorpionem, ex utrisque, id est unguibus et cauda, demonem.*

The first canon that was concluded in this conventicle, was, That Northumberland, who is now by their illusions, and his own giddiness, a sworn enemy to King James, should offer himself as a willing instrument to Cecil to reconcile him to King James; for *inter cæcos dominatur luscus*; and in this concert that have run foreign courses, Northumberland, out of a residence of kind affection in his uncle to the Queen your mother, makes himself omnipotent in the good conceit of his Majesty. Of all this I gave notice to Cecil; drawing it, and much more, from a person whom he trusteth as himself; for such a leaking sieve did never water the wild gardens of Hesperides. Cecil being fenced and well armed by this precaution, desired infinitely, that this offer might be made, to the end that he might make amends for
some

some frank words cast out to him before his last going over *, of his allowance of the right of King James before any, though he did not mean to make circles with Archimedes, while siege was laid to the city. At the last he comes, and was so well paid in his own coin by Cecil, as the fool, finding that he had set up his candle to a wrong saint, began to work back again, and told his own wife, that he had rather the King of Scots were buried than crowned, and that both he and all his friends would end their lives, before her brother's † great god should reign in this element. The lady told him again, that rather than any other than King James should ever reign in this place, she would rather eat their hearts in salt, though she were brought to the gallows

* To his regiment in the army of Prince Maurice.

† Dorothy, the sister of Robert Earl of Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, married Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland.

instantly.

instantly. He told her, that the Secretary had too much wit ever to live under a man that had a foreign stock, having been so fortunate under a woman, that was tractable, and to be counselled. The lady told him, that he need not long triumph upon her poor brother's mishap, for [if] he kept in this mind, she could expect no better end of him than the same, or a worse destiny. Thus being newly reconciled *usque ad conjugalem copulam*, which was not *in more* two years before, they departed in passion, not according to the rule of the philosopher, that *omne animal post coitum triste*, but by the distemper of an atheist, that, besides Raleigh's Alcoran, admits no principles. Within ten days after, he came again, but without any other affection, than a Flemish jade comes to a coursermare, desiring only an heir-male, to prevent the brothers that are next, whom he hates damnably, and protesteth to some of his friends, that, next to his wife, he abhorreth them above any.

any. After this, he complained to Cecil of his wife's Scottish heart, and was desirous that the Queen should understand as much; but Cecil refused to suggest, and wished him also to forbear; because the world would abhor him, and of such a kind of malice, and so grounded, there was no redemption nor recovery. The case, Cecil told him, when a man could not hurt an enemy without hurting himself a great deal more; and therefore advised him, to be circumspect in his own passion. He said, That he had much ado to love his own daughters, because they were of that generation. Cecil replied, That they might prove like himself, &c.

The next canon of Durham-house was, That he should in anywise make much of his wife for a while, to fish out the secrets of the faction of Essex, which way they inclined, and who among them were affected to the part of Scotland, &c.; which in truth he followed so mischievously, working at the first upon the love and kindness of a wife too
true

true and good for him, as before some warning was given, he did very much abuse her credulity. From thence he comes, with meat in his mouth, informing his sweet guides of all those mysteries that he could get out by insinuation and flattery. He delivered, that all Essexians were Scottish, and that the widow daily prayed for King James; that my Lord Henry *, whom he knew to be Scottish, carried that house; for though of late he had more disguised his affections than in former times; yet he did know, that his soul was bent thither. Among these refuse wares, the thing that served our turn best, was, that his wife did rail bitterly against Cecil, for being an enemy to King James; and that for this cause she accursed him. In conclusion, he assured them, out of such scraps as he had raked together out of the alms-basket, that all the partisans in the last

* Lord Henry Howard, the writer of this letter. By *house* is meant *the family of Howard*.

tragedy * resorted to Southampton, without impeachment, by the Lieutenant's † sufferance ; that new practices were set on broach ; that his own brother, Sir Joceline Piercy, did ordinarily lie with him in the tower ; and that, in his conscience, he would, ere it were long, make an escape, or attempt a worse enterprize.

These wicked villains, Cobham and Raleigh, handled the fool so cunningly, as he gave them his word to break these scandals to the Queen, and, which is more, to put into her head a suspicion of Cecil's disposition that way, by the sorcery of all the Howards, who were vassals to that hope, and drew him by violence into their conspiracy. When they had encouraged this gallant to undertake this enterprize, not caring much whether Cecil were galled or Northumberland ruined, pleasing themselves with the comfort of the se-

* All the associates in the wild attempt of Essex.

† The Lieutenant of the Tower.

quel,

quel, which they looked for, Northumberland's heart failed him, in so much as he came to Cobham, pressing him to break these matters with the Queen, and giving his word, that in case the Queen required proof, he would be produced to justify. Cobham, that had proved the weakness of his own credit in the same course before, drew back, protesting, that it was not his own particular, but favoured and assisted by his good wishes and furtherance; because it was the only course to break the necks of those that, in the Queen's affection and Cecil's industry, stood between him and his ends, of being called forward to the government. All this could not set [him] forward, after he began to shrink, either finding out of sense, or being warned by some friend by caution, how desperate his hazard were, in undertaking to charge a person of that quality in this estate; and therefore he resolved flatly, that without a breach were first made, he would not assault foolishly. Then Raleigh
took

took him singly in hand, but with as small effect; wherefore they resolved, upon promise of secrecy, to break the first part only at the first to Cecil, that concerns the meeting in the tower, without touching the point of the combination: which he did accordingly, despairing of the performance, when their Samson's post began to shrink, knowing that it was not possible to secret any thing that Northumberland did once come to understand, and conceiving craftily, how deep their share would be conceived to have been in this adventure, if Cecil came once to scan or judge of it by any casual discovery. Cecil had no sooner knowledge of this project by Cobham, who advised him to advise what course he was [to] take, when Northumberland did break with him, which he would persuade him to do presently, as he did indeed the very next day; whereupon Cecil, finding that the practice meant against Southampton formally, did pierce himself through the other side,

D

dissuaded

dissuaded Northumberland by such
 pregnant reasons, as being heartily a-
 fraid before of the recoil of arrows in-
 discreetly shot, was now more resolute,
 and followed the counsel of Cecil *secun-*
dum literam, and by Cobham's liking
 also, when they could make no other
 use of it, which was to merit South-
 ampton's thankfulness, rather by warn-
 ing him of the danger imminent both
 to himself and to the lieutenant, with
 the commendation of all, than to in-
 cur the censures of the world, by ra-
 king in the bowels of a man half dead,
 and insulting upon a poor forlorn hope
 in extremity. This course was taken,
 and this frequency cut off by good pro-
 vision, without hazarding the grand
 lottery; and since that conclusion, Cob-
 ham hath revealed unto Cecil, upon
 protestation of secrecy, the second
 point in like manner, whereof he doth
 as certainly know Cobham and Raleigh
 to be authors and inventors, howsoever,
 they wrought artificially upon the trea-
 son, falsehood, and corruption of the

other's heart, as that himself was baptized. But this is not the time wherein a wise man will take knowledge of more juggling than he may revenge without jeopardy ; for [if] it stood now between King James and Cecil upon no other terms than in time past, I dare undertake, out of my knowledge of the sense he hath of wrong, that once within a month, according to his former custom in these cases, he would make their hearts to ake for it : But all this skirmish in projection did end more peaceably, without any other markable affair, than an admonition to Cecil of that which he knew many ways, and by many means before, that hell cannot afford such a like triplicity that denies the Trinity.

But now, dear Mr Bruce, that you may judge in what a world we live of factions and phantasies, I must let you know that, whereat you will wonder much, and I believe with reason ; for Cobham, finding how impossible it is to cut the sinews of Cecil's motion in

our estate; and that, like a raging billow, he doth rather break himself than the rock against which he beats, finding the same difference to be between King James's greatness growing, and his own false glory diminishing, that was between John Baptist and our Saviour, of whom it said, *Hunc oportet crescere, illum autem minui, &c.*; either turned within five days after, or, at the least, seemed to turn another leaf, and taking the advantage of the fitness of the time, wherein he was appointed to accompany the Duke * at his last going to the Queen, brake with him, touching the conceit which many hold of his affection to King James, and, as himself hath since imparted with his own mouth to Cecil, both excused himself of imputations past, and vowing future affection, which is almost miraculous.

The reasons which he voucheth unto Cecil of his insinuation to King James,

* Duke of Lennox, who returned from his embassy in France by London; *Spettiswoode's History of Scotland*, p. 467.

are these: 1. Because, as he said, laughing, there is no wisdom in being taken sleeper, when the game determines. 2. Because he doth discover, that tho' Cecil be no professed friend, yet he is no malignant enemy; and therefore, since the King's unfriends begin to quit their party in all places, it were a vain part for him to contend alone, or to *bid base* * foolishly. 3. Because the Queen herself, in her affections, inclines that way; and therefore weak encouragement for any other to stand out with him, or to suppose, that any of these vices and inventions, that were set in hand before, could mine into the life of his security, or the ground-work of his expectation. 4. The distemper of the state, which would force England ever to keep in with him. 5. The temper of his own carriage, which cuts off all advantages. 6. That Essex being dead, there might be hope, that King James

* I do not understand this phrase; it probably alludes to some term used in play.

receiving courtesies of another side, would neglect the remnant of his confederates. *Lastly*, and above all, Because in working his advantage of the present opportunity, he was not the further from the first occasion that might content him better by some other course, that times and changes might offer. Thus far he advised Cecil also to hold measure, and march with him; and to know, that he protested to God, nothing in this world was more against his heart; but that discretion, and sense of his state present, by the decay of the prince regnant, and future, by a successor malignant, urged him.

Cecil, that knew by certain late courses undertaken, as you have heard, that these were not the motives of his revolution, (though they might move a reasonable man), but colourably laid together by Raleigh, that his purpose might be better carried and covered, discoursed with me about the matter, assuring me, that the Duke had undertaken to clear up all clouds, and breed
an

an inwardness between him and his Majesty.

I told Cecil, that, in my opinion, it did not skill much what the Duke did undertake in this distaste of his own negotiation: for the mariner that in a storm vowed to St Christopher a waxpercher as big as himself, presented a poor size of a farthing when he came to land, saying, That howsoever sinners overshot themselves upon the water, yet saints upon the land would be reasonably satisfied. The Duke deals, as the Spanish merchants did at their first repair to the Indies; that, when they could get no gold, rather than they would return empty-handed, brought ivory *. I told Cecil, that for me
to

* The following passage occurs in two MSS. copies of Spottiswoode's history, which were in the library of the Duke of Lauderdale. Dr Patrick Cuming, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, obligingly communicated it to the editor.

“ It was expected, that in this parliament
“ [1601], some motion should be made of a suc-
“ cessor; but when they saw nothing moved that
“ way,

to add caution to such a wit were supererogant; but yet I must needs tell him, that the motives which indeed wrought most with Cobham were shadowed and smothered. His ends were, either, 1. To get an advantage of Cecil, by participation in conference. 2. To keep him at the least from doing

“ way, many dealt in private, to stir up the
 “ King to send an embassy for that one business,
 “ upon assurance, that the same should be assisted;
 “ ed; and if the Queen did refuse, that an army
 “ of 60,000, and those not of the meanest, should
 “ take the field, and not lay down arms, till the
 “ same was obtained; and least their words
 “ should be disbelieved, they made offer, upon
 “ advertisement that the King would take that
 “ course, to send all their subscriptions in a
 “ book, before he should employ any in that
 “ commission. I had warrant myself from persons
 “ of good credit, to propose this at my return
 “ unto his Majesty; which I also did; but
 “ was answered, That he did not intend to stir
 “ up a rebellion in England, or raise any mutiny
 “ against the Queen, but would attend patiently
 “ on God, who, in his own good time, he
 “ doubted not, should bring him peaceably to
 “ enjoy his right.”

that

that hurt, which otherwise it might be that he would have done, upon discovery of haunts by his own pioneers. 3. To search, by insinuation, the scope of the King's courses, and what persons of account are actors upon that theatre. 4. Hold Cecil in awe for ever by advantage either of his connivance, or of his consent. 5. To breathe himself upon this bare tree, till he may take a further flight. 6. To embark with one whom he conceives, as he confessed plainly to Cecil, not to be much affected to the Earl of Marr and Mr Bruce; both which he doth hate mortally. 7. To draw from King James such effects of love and confidence, by communication of intelligence, as might raise his present fortune with the Queen, which is the mark whereat his coloured ambition doth aim, by giving check without discovery. These reasons Cecil believes to be the motives; and therefore answered to Cobham's plain confession, That he made a great adventure, if King James were either
malicious

malicious or humorous, considering his ordinary axiom both since the death of Essex and before, delivered with passion, and often openly, That it was not possible for any man to be a loyal subject to his gracious mistress, that respected King James in any degree, either present or future. Cobham said, That such fervent speeches were effects of zeal, and so to be interpreted. Cecil said, That he would neither make nor meddle with his course, but he had done that which *he* would not adventure for his state, but hoped that her Majesty should outlive him; and after her, setting aside conscience, which ought ever to favour right, he was indifferent which way soever it should please God to dispose of the monarchy. This cold answer pleased not; but there was no further help, where caution had sealed up secrecy.

The very next day Raleigh came to him with the same brave flourishes of confidence and love, but touching the main point more reservedly; for he denied

nied any kind of proffer of devotion or kind affection to have been made to King James from him by the Duke, but protested, that the Duke had sent earnestly to crave conference with him privately, which he had denied with a gallant answer, That he had been over deeply engaged and obliged to his own mistress to seek favour any where, and seemed in a sort to take the motion unkindly, that should either divert his eye, or diminish his sole respect to his own sovereign. Cecil answering, that he did well, and as himself would have made answer if the like offer had been made ; Raleigh, without any long dissimulation, went roundly to the point, desiring Cecil to let the Queen know the particular, what had been offered, what answered. From this course Cecil dissuaded him by many reasons ; as, that the Queen would rather mark a weakness that gave the Duke encouragement, than praise his resolution. Again, that it would be thought a motive only to pick a thank, and in the

present by dishonour, and in the future by danger, do more hurt than it could ever do him good any way. And thus ended the comedy, wherein I note, that, like a birchen rod that is cast in the fire when the fault is punished, they have both in some sort entered into a kind of treaty, without admitting Northumberland into the least part of the reckoning : A fit cover for such a cap, and a [proper] reward for such a co-zener.

The course which in this case Cecil would advise you to take if it please his Majesty, to whose deep we submit our judgment, both in this and all other points, is, first, to acquaint his Majesty with so much as is set down concerning the Duke's dealing with Cobham and Raleigh, before the Duke arrive ; that by comparing his report with that which the other did impart with their own mouths, so if it please you by the next dispatch to signify the particulars, we may be able presently to advertise King James, whether is most
like

like by circumstance to add or diminish, without discovering one syllable. You must not touch one word in your letter of the consultations and canons of Durham-house, because I had not warrant to advertise them, although I were the instrument of bringing the chief things to discovery. The King's answer Cecil would have to consist by word of mouth upon these points to the Duke, That his Majesty taketh this apology and offer in good part, as effects of a well-meaning mind; for though he would be loath to give offence to her Majesty, whom [he] desires in all things to content, by wooing any subject of hers during her own time; yet is he glad of all mens kind affections, without prejudice to the duty which they owe to one above all, and carries in his mind a purpose to be thankful to worthy persons according to the measure wherein they merit; if the Duke crave traffic with these gallants of intelligence by correspondency of King James, Cecil desires him not to yield to it in

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any fort; for the first beginning King James may find that their intentions are traiterous, and only seek, like fyrens, by sweet songs, to draw those passengers within the compass of their danger, whom they would work upon for private use, and desire to devour most eagerly. It seems their course of traffic will be from henceforth with the Duke, and therefore it is good for King James, if it so fall out, to take all advertisements in the best part he can, and will the Duke to return such answer as his Majesty would have presented to the Queen; for that is the centre of this hollow circumference, as by the beginning it appears probably: for any wise under that lock of confidence and hopes, which is of proof against all the picklocks either of the one or the other state, let us understand the scope of their proceedings, out of which if we make not as good use for the King, and with as good workmanship as you can wish, then conclude that you deal with bunglers. The
temper

temper which we would humbly beseech King James, for his own security and service, to use with them, is neither to give them advantage by encouragement of intelligence, nor [make them] desperate by contempt of their offerings. This good we have gained to begin withal, that having liemed their own fingers with laying twigs, they dare not guess nor challenge upon the King's steps, nor chafe his poor servants by the fury of their inquisition. When you have perused all these particulars, let them die for ever in your breasts farther than for caution; for they touch all the arteries of our anatomy. Cecil bade me tell you, that he is sorry that it falls not into the compass of his own element to further your suit as he would, but hath twice more pressed forward the treasurer, against whose disposition it is without an infinite advantage to himself to further or remember any man. 7 * means

* *Note*, This cipher is not distinct in the original.

to urge him the morning, whereupon I think he will deal with Cecil to ask his advice again, who will omit no persuasion nor instigation to further it.

You must persuade the King, in his next dispatch, to direct you to thank Cecil in the letter which you write to me, for the light he receives of Cobham and Raleigh by this advertisement; and if it please his Majesty to speak of them suitably to the concert which Cecil holds, it will be the better; for Cecil swore to me this day, that *duo erinacii*, that is, he and they, would never live under one apple-tree. The thing which Cecil would have me print in the King's mind, is the miserable state of Cobham and Raleigh, who are fain to put their heads under the girdle of him whom they envy most, and that they cannot escape his walk with all their agility, which if you seem in your letter by the King's direction to observe, you tickle the right humour. God make you less weary of reading than I am with writing, or else I shall despair

L E T T E R IV. 53

despair of your patience. So wishing to you, as to my own soul, and to him whom we both honour most, increase of all happiness, I end and rest your's eternally.

Dec. 4. at 6. [1601.] *.

HENRY HOWARD.

Pardon faults, for I want time to read over.

* This date is collected from the mention made of the Duke of Lennox being at the English court.

L E T T E R IV.

Lord Henry Howard to King James.

THough your present incumbrance about the composition of quarrels and enmities in your own estate, Most Excellent, Most Gracious and Redoubted King James, witnessed.

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of late by the faithful pen of Mr Bruce, admonish us not to trouble you with any copious discourse, time being unto you more precious than pearls ; yet because your pleasure hath been always, that those things which do principally concern yourself should be written to yourself, I thought good upon this occasion to freight a little pinnace with some choice wares, which the great vessel of dispatch to Mr Bruce, being in kind furcharged with so many things as are already brought on board, cannot well carry, without some disproportion in the bulk that is sent thither.

The discourse to Mr Bruce consisteth upon many nice and dainty points, acquainting your Majesty by him with the late overture made by the States, with probabilities to prove on both sides, *ex statu conjecturali*, that this annexion may be rather pretended for advantage, than intended out of necessity. Your Majesty also may thereby perceive, that whether they dissemble or deal faithfully, whether the motive
of

of this alteration be distress or art, whether they work speedily or by degrees, you shall be ever privy to the variations of compasses, and in the mean time assure yourself of a friend that, I hope, in this place shall ever have best and safest means to do you good, and to make the best advantage of all occurrences and offers, so far as the nature of the subject will permit for your behoof, with a demonstration of his own constancy.

Notwithstanding, to prepare your mind, lest so strange, so suspicious, and so unlooked for an offer at this time from those, (whose humour, state, and ostentation, have hitherto persuaded their allies to doubt nothing less than so strange a leap, before they could discover from what bank they purposed to take their rise), might make you start with a kind of astonishment, hearing the clap, and almost feeling the blow *in eodem puncto temporis*, if you should believe formalities, we thought good, first, to present
their

their offer made, as it is without fold or crease, and thereupon to crave your own opinion *in omnem eventum*, whether they pretend in earnest or in jest; because in matters of this moment sudden resolutions are perilous, and often paid for a greater price than at the first they might have been cheapened.

It may be that this offer, cast out artificially to found the purposes of England and France, how far they would be drawn before this treaty should take effect, will vanish when they find how little we do either fear or further it; it may be that the cold proceeding of Imperialists, when it cometh to conditions of contribution and charge, how brave soever they seem in the first acceptance out of art or glory, may discourage them; it may be also, that although their motives were out of distrust of their own forces, and their labour serious; yet that which shall be answered from hence, may give a check to forward expectation no more firmly grounded upon demonstrations of
of

of sound effect ; but in the mean time we desire that your Majesty should behold all forms before the foundations be brought to a surer settling.

If the wars of Ireland by subtraction and abatement of some companies, and a cutting off a great part of that charge [might permit], it is not improbable but a larger measure of supply might be afforded to the States to stay their appetite ; but if it should come to the uttermost, and that our state be driven to change their measure by the change of music which is sent from thence, yet Cecil will then presume to make an offer of advice unto your Majesty, out of that root of confidence which he observes in your clear actions and thoughts of such counsel in this course, as you shall judge and he shall apprehend, according to the temper of the motion to be for your behoof most advantageous and requisite ; your Majesty may assure yourself, that your friends in this place will scan offers, cautions, proportions, and ends, with a very strange and precise

precise kind of curiosity for so much as concerns you; nay, which is more, according to the course of dealing with a prince of so great state, they will take a very deep essay of all things that may hurt you in the first, second, or third digestion, before you taste of them; and though *in mundo fortuito* the wit of man can [not] provide against all contingents or events, yet whatsoever happen afterward, experience and judgment shall allow, that as the schoolmen say, *ex qualificata materia dispositione*, it was not possible for safer councils to be squared, fairer hopes to be assisted, nor more worthy ends furthered.

Both Cecil and I do humbly beseech your Majesty, that none of the elect in that place do, by any words, cast out to the Duke, or any of his complices, (that have been recommenders of Raleigh's hypocrisy), give notice of the dealing of Cobham or Raleigh * in the

* The names are in cipher, 7 and 11; 7 elsewhere stands for Cobham, and it is probable that 11 stands for Raleigh.

matter

matter of this peace, or tax those ill affections to him, upon the manifest discovery of courses and endeavours so far opposite. For there is as little hope of altering their minds absolutely fixed upon the poles of their ambition by plain dealing, which persons have no ends beside their own, as there was of working ease or comfort to Southampton by your Majesty's request to o. in his behalf; for ever since that time, and at this instant above all, that crew hath more afflicted him, by seeking to scant the scope of his liberty, since Cecil guards his life, and to draw Queen Elisabeth to make sale of his whole estate for the sparing of her own land, though the value be cried down exceedingly by a very long lease, than before your Majesty vouchsafed to write for him. Such is the friendship of bad persons, as are void both of instinct of honour, and of all regard of faith; and therefore they shall ever deal best with your Majesty, that shall set up fairest marches for you to beware of them.

Were

Were it possible for them, by any mean, to get notice, that your Majesty misliked of their endeavour to procure this peace, they would as readily conclude of the motive of Cecil's earnest opposition, considering that both his father had been in this degree *pacificus*, and he himself had heretofore inclined to that side, they would easily conclude, with what adamant that needle were touched, that bent to that pole; and thereupon not only disable Cecil's faithful industry in this drift, but in all other things, and make him forever suspect Queen Elisabeth, after she had found, that he were in the least degree (though for her own good, if she could discern without passion of prejudice) inclined and bent toward you.

Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur,

Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.

Against snares set in so many walks, it is not possible for caution itself to be too provident; and I dare assure your Majesty,

Majesty, that the weak hold which their wit or craft can take of any pregnant advantage in those parts by their cunning windlasses, makes them secretly conceive, that there cannot chuse but be some treasure, where the guards are so strongly reinforced, and the place fortified. They that could at this unlucky instant put into the head of Queen Elifabeth, that Lindsay * was now returning into Scotland from Rome, with great promises of allowance, towards the maintaining of a guard, and other sweet baits of encouragement, drawing their discovery out of the Archduke's court, where they nourished a certain muddy spring of intelligence ; and all to this end only, that Queen Elifabeth, being startled with suspicion of you, might run the other course with a stronger resolution, would be glad of the least advantage from yourself, or any of account or quality near to yourself, whereon they might ground probable suspi-

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* Sir James Lindsay.

cion of co-assistance, and *sparjet to muddy water with one whiting box.* *

These are the points which I thought good to touch in particular to your own matchless self, for demonstration of that art which is still used in this place, though idly for want of likelihood, to inspire audacity. I will now conclude, with daily and earnest prayers to the glorious Trinity for your preservation, and humbly commend the duty and affection to you of him,

That is, and ever will be most affectionately and constantly devoted to your service,

HENRY HOWARD.

After the ending of this letter, other occurrences fell, which shall be related to your Majesty by the Earl of Marr, into whose part I have inserted some particulars, that we may ever furnish out three courses for your service, which is the banquet that affection and

* The words in Italics are unintelligible.

industry

L E T T E R IV. 63

industry will ever feed upon. Once again, I humbly take my leave, and most affectionately kiss that sacred hand, which was ordained by the providence of heaven to carry sceptres heavier than that it holds, and to guide the balance of justice in this land *in æquilibrio*, which so long panted [inclined] to that side which partiality doth favour most. The glorious Trinity prolong your days as the days of Heaven, and so reveal the first beginnings of all dangers *in incunabulis*, as you may ever *allidere parvulos ad petram*, and, with Joseph, draw the motives of all ill affections to the securing of your own happiness. Amen.

O happy mind, that so lies down, and sleeps,
When Envy wails, and Malice sits and weeps.

Opto spero.

L E T T E R V.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.

PErfuade yourself, most dear and worthy Mr Bruce, that the pauses which you take in answering, do never trouble us, who, in this case, think of King James, who is God's lieutenant here on earth, as I think of God, whose place he holds, when I make my prayers, which is, that *aut dabit quod petimus, aut quod ipse novit utilius*; and therefore let this maxim ever hold at Edinburgh, *Quod illi fuerit opportunum, nobis semper fore commodum.*

Touching the answer of King James to the Earl, I must speak with admiration: for though some wished, if it had been possible, that no character of a royal hand might have remained in an uncertain hand; which had been most safe; because, if one thread ravel out, the
rest

rest will follow; yet hath the King handled the cause with so great temper, dexterity, and caution, as we do conclude, that one, according to the itch of a good humour, so long as it will hold, is satisfied, and not much ventured, as his Majesty advised him, out of his royal care of others, not to send often in, so doth he promise, out of a very great respect to himself, whom he only loves without any competitors, so hope that rule and this salutation will be but like that *crepitaculum quod datur pueris, ne quid perfringant in domo*, as we learn in the politics.

You have so lively set forth every circumstance, which in discourse, as well as painting, King James setteth forth to the life, as we know very well both what to judge and how to correspond, which is the benefit of trusty and plain dealing among worthy coadjutors; therefore in that which Cecil and I have set down to King James, you shall find, that nothing which pertains to present

use or future satisfaction is left unanswered.

Northumberland pretends to run this course with the Earl of Marr, without knowledge of his confederates, but his purpose once again to deal with King James, for his favour toward that accursed duality *, (considering the weakness of his mind in containing any trust), makes me suspect, as the poor woman said to David, that the hand of Joab is in the pye, and that *sub aliena persona suam agant comœdiam*: but hereof we shall have notice, if it be so, before it be long; and till then we will observe with judgment, and judge with discretion. Not past one week before this letter came, Northumberland began to rail of Raleigh to some good friends; but now they are again as close as ever in the combination of incredulity. By the reasons which formerly you have read, and the state of things which you behold, you will conclude, how

* Raleigh and Cobham,

far our gracious King James should be from attending any motion from them, *qui querunt calliditati receptaculum*; and would, in shew, be *ambodextri*, to deceive the better-meaning sort by doubleness; God grant that their great advocate Northumberland may be able to perform the service that is looked for at the blessed day; for I protest to you, from the report of his own officers, that both the better and the worse will abandon him. I hope you shall see matters carried in so good a sort, as the only way to save his throat from cutting, will be to keep in the best company, which, if he did not at this present apprehend, by marking matters how they pass, I dare assure you, on my credit, you should have spared this peace-offering.

Your judgment is exceeding sound, in wishing, that over great predominance by popular affection might light upon no one subject of the state, to give encouragement of working out of humour; for though some be more odious,
yet

yet I find not that any one is dangerous that hath place in our hemisphere.

The league is very strong between Sir Walter Raleigh and my Lady Shrewsbury * and Sir Walter Raleigh's wife: Much hath been offered on all sides to bring her into the privy chamber to her old place, because she is a most dangerous woman, and full of her father's inventions; *sed canunt furde*. There is a new invention among that crew, that Cobham should court his wife, and force his own disposition to make use of her access and industry, and itill the admiral, if it be possible, who now barks at all their outridings, and expresseth passion, though without prejudice hitherto They begin to bill; but because they do not tread, we must expect no chickens of the game, that in another age may maintain the cock-fighting. Cobham hath a suit, and

* Mary the daughter of Sir William Cavendish of Chatworth, Knight; *Collins's Peerage*, vol. 2. p. 17.

candles must be set up to all saints, till that end may be compassed, which causeth this sudden heat of an after spring.

Cobham hath once again incensed the Queen against the lease which Southampton made for years before this mishap for payment of his debts, and therefore out of the compass of forfeiting. She hath pressed for it with all importunity, but it will prove good in law, and these are the fruits of Cobham's over-burning charity.

Northumberland is unhappy: for both court and town exclaims against his indiscretion for challenging a great commander of the state * at such time;
as

* Sir Francis Vere.—This quarrel happened about the 15th April 1602.—There is in Peck's Historical Pieces, p. 32.—40. a narrative of the proceedings on both sides, drawn up in all the formality of a law-case, with answers, replies, and rejoinders. As that book is little known, I have subjoined Lord Northumberland's challenge, and Sir Francis Vere's final answer, that our young nobility may see with what gravity and precision their forefathers quarrelled.

Lord

as without breach of duty he could not,
nor might not, answer him.

Touching

Lord Northumberland.

“ I told you at Ostend, that then was no fit
“ time to expostulate matters : now I hold it
“ expedient to call you to account for those
“ wrongs you have done me. You love to take
“ the air, and to ride abroad ; appoint then a
“ place and time to your liking, that I may meet
“ you : bring you a friend with you, I will be ac-
“ companied with another, that shall be witness
“ of the thing I will lay to your charge. If you
“ satisfy me, we will return good friends ; if not,
“ we shall do as God shall put in our minds. I
“ will eschew all bitter words, as unfit for men
“ of our occupation. Seek not by frivolous
“ shifts to divert this course of satisfaction : for
“ all other means than this that I have prescri-
“ bed, I shall call as an affirmation of that I
“ have heard ; which will cause me to proceed
“ in righting myself as the wrong requires. Make
“ me no replies by letter, but send me your
“ will by this bearer directly, that you will, or
“ that you will not ; for from me you shall have
“ no more. Give no cause of noises in the
“ world to hinder this our course, lest you baffle
“ your own reputation. Whatsoever else I
“ shall do in this just cause of offence, fewer
“ words

Touching all other matters belonging to our course, you shall receive so large acknowledgments by the letters to King James, as to repeat them here were to abuse your leisure, and express my own idleness. Sentence is given

“ words I could not have used to have expressed my mind.”

Sir Francis Vere's final answer.

“ Because I refused to meet you upon your
“ peremptory and foolish summons, you conclude me in a discourse sent abroad under your
“ name, to be a knave, and a coward, and a
“ buffoon; wherein you have provoked me to
“ set aside all respect to your person, and to say
“ you are a most lying and unworthy Lord.
“ You are bound by her Majesty's commandment not to assail me, and I by the business
“ committed to me, not to seek you. When
“ we shall be free, as God shall make us meet,
“ I will maintain it with my sword.”

FRANCIS VERE.

If the reader desires to see more of this quarrel, and of the behaviour of Northumberland, he may consult *R. Johnston Rer. Brit. Hist. lib. 11. p. 371.*

at

at Rome * on the side of the seminaries that they were neither *schismatici* nor *inobedientes*, in forbearing to submit till they saw warrant by Pontifical authority, and all their spiritual acts, till the coming out of the brief have been justified, as they term it, *ore apostolico*, which hath put all our Jesuits and their friends into a fever.

In any wise be careful, that the letter that comes to confirm a new friend, may be written with royal promise and special favour; for it will give great encouragement for his assisting Cecil, and great strength to the party. Thus you see that God works mightily by worthy means, and that as *dies diei eructat verbum*, so *nox nocti indicat scientiam*.

Thus, dear Mr Bruce, wishing you all health and happiness as to my soul, I end, wishing for the mean that might

* Winwood writes, 9th November 1602, O. S. that the differences between the priests and Jesuits are accorded; *Memorials*, vol. 1. p. 446.
make

make me know how far you may and shall dispose of me.

Cecil doth most affectionately commend him both to you and the Earl of Marr, and is glad to hear that any office of his to King James may witness and expresse his desire, to acknowledge in some sort your secrecy and constancy

Touching Hamilton, by this time you know his mind; and therefore when you hear, that after cure of all infirmities, and satisfaction of all desires, he hangeth up his crutch here for a monument, never be you afraid, whatsoever the preacher thundereth at St Giles, to undertake a pilgrimage. You may judge by the snake's miserable countenance, that he is frost-bitten in May, which among some of your courtiers will renew the lamentations of Jeremiah. Yet wants he not his Nicodemuses that steal to him by night, but depart, as I think, discouraged with the miserable success of his advocacy. Now Northumberland means to take the cause of Cobham and Raleigh in

G

hand

hand to the King, but *nullas spes habet Troja, si tales habet*. We were never so quiet and secure, neither was the world ever both within and without more finely cozened, which proves, that both honest men and good workmen have the cause in handling; and therefore *non transibit ista generatio donec evenerint omnia, &c.*

Again farewell, worthy Mr Bruce, and be as sure of a good sequence as they are of the gleeke *, that find no other cause of exception, than desire to deserve well of him that deserves best to be served and honoured. May the
 ——— †

Yours affectionately, and ever,
 HENRY HOWARD.

By perusing these originals with attention, you may judge best of the particular; but in any case be careful to

* A phrase at cards when one has in his hand three of one point or value.

† This sentence appears to have been left unfinished.

send them back with the copy of Cecil's letter that I send with them.

After I had folded up this letter ready almost for the seal, I was sent for by Cecil, and with him had long discourse of a sharp encounter between his sovereign and him about the poverty of the state, the continuance of charge, the discontentment of all sorts of people, and impossibility to go through at this charge which her affairs put her to. The passion was strong, the smart very sensible, and the reasons more pregnant than her manner is to produce of ordinary, which made me assure myself, that they which inspire her take more pain than they were wont to study their own politics. They have made her feel the vast burden of her expence; they have made her see the short measures of her supplies; they have put her in fear of all kinds of distress, that want in the subject, and excess of charges to the state, is like to bring her to; they have sought to make those suspected that persuade the war, and those ei-

ther negligent or corrupt that conduct the war, putting a firm conceit, and not improbable, as it is set out in colours, that the Irish war being the chiefest drain of her consumption, is fortified, and fed for other mens particulars. No man could answer more judiciously and honestly than Cecil to every point, tempering her fears, improving causes of hope, excusing persons in employment, and abating passion. My weary hand, and care to favour your overstrained eyes, makes me forbear the setting down of particulars; and beside, until a man be sure that this embryo is likely to receive life, I will leave like an abort in a bench-hole*, where the sun shall not shine on it; but if it once begin to quicken, you shall soon have knowledge, and upon great cause; for that it will be time to think of the throes which both states must endure before they be well delivered.

* This is unintelligible.

Though

Though it should so fall out, that King James hath already written the letter for confirmation of the new-come guest, *stylo veteri*, that is, according to the copy which I sent without commission by the last dispatch, (the same having no explicit or literal promise of the King's favour to the party, and of his bountiful and thankful purpose to reward the merit of this present in a future change), because the substance hangs upon this joint; or though it happen that the letter written *stylo primo* be sent away before this packet arrive, Cecil doth humbly intreat King James, that it will please him, for his own service and Cecil's assistance, to write another with the golden promises of reward and thankfulness to the new guest, &c. for in that case he will forbear to shew the first letter to the party, till the second come in the place of it by the next dispatch you send hither; for thus must men feast doves at their first approach, that will have their dove-house thoroughly replenished.

The same letter, whereof you sent the copy by the packet, coming by the ordinary way of Nicolson *, Cecil thought good to stay from delivery, being not desirous that the Queen should have more thanks than she deserves for so poor a reckoning; and on the same side stands myself earnestly; for it is certain that the Queen being brought with difficulty to grant, having since not only oftentimes repented in her own base humour what she did before, but cast her own deed in the teeth of those that before were earnest to persuade. Again, the Queen being at this present needy, as you may perceive by this, and greedy to take hold of any short confession that may present the figures of her bounty in bright colours, would either seek to cut off charge, or think she had wrought some great miracle in causing the lame to walk, or rage against those that induced her, or hold her hand hereafter upon any motion for further satisfaction

* Agent in Scotland for Queen Elisabeth.

in a time that may serve better, or condemn the King's indigence, (which maketh so great value of so poor a contribution, and especially of so ancient a date, no new cause moving it), or which is worst of all, suspect that these unseasonable thanks come in the way of preparation for some new demands, which would inflame her agony. If his Majesty, upon the view of these conceits of mine, should notwithstanding think it fit that it should pass, upon his pleasure understood, it shall be done; but in the mean, duty moveth us to send the grounds of our opinion, that view the changes and affections of our own element, submitting all to the will and judgment of his Majesty, who is our oracle.

The Queen's order is, that a letter of compliments shall be written back to the Duke, without any other notice taken of the propositions, which in my judgment made a fairer shew to the conceit of him and his advisers at the first, than they will do at the return of
his

his Mercuries. If every project were as soon quickened by satisfaction as it is conceived by self-love, the world would be full of miracles. There want not in this place that hunt for all advantages that may give King James surer footing in this fortune every day ; but when those spring, our worthy Earl of Marr, and our worthy Mr Bruce, might hold their love and confidence unluckily bestowed, if any man alive next unto King James himself should sooner hear, or sooner execute those opportunities. Hamilton being made acquainted with the Queen's pleasure, and advised to prepare himself, made answer, that as yet he was not ready, nor could be well these twelve or fourteen days, for some private business that detained him. His very countenance described so deep vexation as his very words were in pain to dissemble it ; but foxes might leap over the King's walls, as the prophet says, if they should continue at one height till his hands raised them. His pretty familiars
keep

keep him in heart, as it should seem ; for he means to return, but with a fainter heart, and a colder hope than he set forth with all his flourishes.

I must now desire you earnestly to become an earnest suiter with King James, that if H. Leigh be come within the border, his Majesty will set the rest of his grace and favour towards him to bring him back again ; for snares are set to catch him here by any mean, upon some scandalous impressions that have been lately put into the Queen's mind by our Vice-Chamberlain, from the Lowthers ; and their faction are daily multiplied by my nephew Scrope *, and therefore being caught, he will be put to all the torture of the world, in which case flesh and blood cannot assure itself what pain may bring it to. It is said here, that he is malecontent, though no man knows for what occasion ; and it is very

* Lord Scrope. His mother was Margaret Lord Henry's sister ; *Collins's Peerage*, vol. 1. p. 14.

true,

true, that his humours are both violent and strange. Wherefore as you do value your best friends in this place, help this hazard before it come to head; for *frustra de successu querimur cum causas negligimus*. The matter at this present, I protest to God, is of far greater consequence, for so much as it concerns the conservation and security of King James's ministers both here and in other parts, than any other that we can conceive or apprehend; and therefore must you work your feate with such respect and caution, as the man may be rather moved with the King's unkindness, encouraged with expectation of future rewards, acquainted with the malice that is born to him, than suffered by any mean to understand his own *adjuncta*, or the true cause that indeed doth move the King to revoke him. It is probable that he that last dealt with him from the King, either understood not the disposition of the man, or understood not the mystery that makes his detention of more use
than

than his action. For as the man is violent and humorous; so when he felt himself set lighter than he sets himself, undoubtedly disdain or rage enforced him against the strength of reason, and of former resolution, to grow thus quietly discontent in appearance, though, I fear, more violently vexed in his own passion. You must in this case strain both interest and care, for in half an hour out of any humour he might do more mischief among King James's friends, than the world could compound again. Men are as often to be valued *secundum quid*, as *simpliciter*. Acquaint his Majesty, I beseech you, and my dear Earl of Marr, with this exigent, which may be succoured in time; for believe it, without special care and travel, that masterful nature, rash presumption, and giddy head, neither regarding present danger, nor future hope, setting wit and common sense aside, is as likely to come to London from the border, as
from

from Edinburgh to the borderers. If there be no other mean to quiet him beside about the court, I will devise the means, upon advertisement from you and the Earl of Marr, how we shall be both excused and winked at; besides, as his quarrel of unkindness towards me is, it was my great care, that his particular should not disturb the main, and that he should do that which was best for the King; so, if you get him back again by fair words, or by any mean, I will please him again with court holy water.

Dear Mr Bruce, have only care to keep us sure from the passions of Leigh, and the vanity of your doctor, mixed with opennes; and then, by the grace of God, I shall be able to perform the service that becomes me to King James, till it please God that he make some good use of it.

Thus, recommending myself, my state, my industry, to your constant
love,

L E T T E R V. 85

love, respect, and tendernefs, I end,
resting ever,

Yours most affectionately,

HENRY HOWARD.*

* This letter, from the mention made of Lord Northumberland's challenging Sir Francis Vere, must have been written about the end of April 1602.

L E T T E R VI.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.

ALbeit, at this time, most dear and worthy Mr Bruce, the freedom of the pen of our worthy, constant, and dear Cecil, in writing at good length, the copies of his letters, in expressing with most fresh and lively colours the proceedings of all parts, and my large letter to King James, have set forth particulars so near to life, and to add any thing were poetry, to improve
H were

were vanity; yet I know it fares with me in these dispatches, never sealing up the canon till I have saluted the Earl of Marr and you *canonice*, as it doth with those that never think they have well dined till they close their stomach with some conserve, that may further digestion.

It is not possible for things to be carried with more kindness, caution, and secrecy, than they are in your parallel; which is the cause, if you mark it, why this spring doth serve you daily more abundantly, which would otherwise either have been dried up, for want of use made in due times, and with due circumstances, or diverted by discouragement. Acknowledgment of the King's rare worth, and the tenderness of the Earl of Marr and you, in concealing these mysteries as well from Levitical as from vulgar eyes, must ever move us to sing one song, and in one tune, that they are happy, whose hap it is to serve princes that are both thankful and provident.

All

All your advertisers agree in one consent and harmony, that King James still continues in his hard conceit, despairing of his love, and yet devising with these idle fellows, how to temper moods, which makes them thus desirous, as you may perceive, to win the start of others, and for their own advancement to contend for this advantage, that they may engrave their names *in rasa tabula*, having first wiped away those impressions which, by the King's discreet and respective words cast out to gudgeon fools, they suppose to be contained there, as some do, that there is a man in the moon, and cities in the circumference. But thanks be to God, those rubs were swept out of our alley, before that any of those labourers did so much as take a broom in hand. And therefore a man might say merrily to Hamilton, were the jest as safe as it is apt, as the old woman said to the last French Queen, coming to Chartres to require our Lady's intercession for her conception with child,

H 2

that

that they came too late; because the priest that caused the conceptions was departed out of the diocese. But to conclude this point in earnest; so long shall King James be well served, and his friends safe, as he holds this course, and leads them by wrong aims from the right mark, whereat, in shooting point-blank, they might easily make work for Cobham, Raleigh, and their complices, who hover in the air for an advantage, as kites do for carrion.

By that which I have written to King James, and the copy of Cecil's second answer to the Master of Gray *, you may imagine into what danger the folly of Kildare hath not only brought her-

* This man, formerly a prime favourite with his master King James, appears from these letters to have been a pensioner and spy of the English ministry. The same thing may be gathered from Winwood's memorials, where Sir Henry Neville, vol. i. p. 59. describes him to be *hollow and venal*.

self,

self, but the cause, her courses being no longer whispered, but almost divulged in the mouths of so many. It is not possible by art to do more than is done in this place, to the stopping of these leaks; but beside the peril of her traffic, which is full of inconvenience, thus weak she is also, by strange affection to Cobham, whom never woman loved, or will love, beside herself, that if he could but once bring himself, by art or falsehood, to stop but one leak, I dare assure you, on my credit, which shall never fail a true friend, that he might in the same instant not only descry the card, but ingross the gain unto himself, of all the voyages and discoveries which she hath made from the first day of her putting to sea, which King James's friends perceive; and therefore clap on all our sails when she doth but offer to approach, or underhand to contract with us. But *præterita facilius reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*; and herein may we taste the benefit of entertaining your advertisers: for if the Master of

Gray had conveyed his packet into any other hand than that he doth, you had before this time heard of such a fire, as beside combustion, the very smoke of it would have almost choked some of the best of us. Abstinence from henceforth, and prayer for delivery from dangers past, are the best means that can serve for the present need ; for though she must be ever used with respect, yet *cavete chirographa*. This Mercury, so long expected and foretold by you, is now come to such purpose, and in such form, as King James will impart to you. They find, that all their vain projections are vanished and putrified ; for though Cecil carry that sweet disposition, as keeping himself secret for the service of King James, and his own safeguard with all, he would take hold of any man's invention that might do good ; yet, finding by the subject of this employment, and the means of operation, that the scope is only to be rulers of the car of Phaeton, which they cannot guide, and to draw business unto themselves,

themselves, which they know not how to manage, resolves to hold his wonted course of caution and resolution, deriving all advantage that he can perceive by their advertisement for the furtherance of his own end, and yet still leaving them in that ignorance which is the mother of our devotion. The weakness of their judgments doth appear by their election of means to raise their own reputations. For as things stand now, they should abuse you very much, that should seek to persuade either King James, or any faithful minister of his, that any friend in this place that should first begin to move the Queen to send the garter into Scotland, should ever more after that be able to perform the part of a true friend in any sort, such is her fear of settling his Majesty in any English stall, that may give possession or elbow-room, when every man begins to see more light at lesser holes than she could wish; but by this opportunity, of opening the point in another name, Cecil may perceive the
secret

secret of his heart in that particular, and touch points freely by occasion, which would have burnt his fingers to have apprehended *ex proposito*. If any thing fall out concerning this before the packet be made up, you shall understand *ex antecedente*, if after, *per consequentiam*. Methinks you should smile at their endeavour to augment the pension, for no other cause, than the raising of the Duke's credit, when you call to mind with what difficulty the last addition was compassed, how soundly Cecil hath been remembered at every payment since, for furthering and procuring the grant, and how hardly the Queen can make the last contribution by parliament, extend to the bearing out of all charges till the next assembly. Before the Duke can devise to bring these things to pass, if God resolve not once again, by the rod of Moses, to bring rivers out of rocks, he might have gotten the foreskins of 500 Philistines.

Touching K. James's restraint of all
kinds

kinds of correspondence with the *boute-feux*, you received so many motives of good consideration and demonstrations of necessity by the last dispatch, as to write more than was at that time expressed, and is now more lightly touched, were mere idleness.

You shall perceive by Cecil's letter, that another friend is brought into the church; and therefore, when such stars shoot, it draws near to day; and his Majesty, finding with what care and industry those aids and instruments are gained, that must serve for necessary use, will more evidently find how little it is needful *circumire aquam et aridum*, to win profelytes: for in this service, as into the sacrifices *Bona Deus*, no more instruments (either to observe or to celebrate) must be let in than have offices. I do assure you, that the building will be stronger, by the raising of such a bank, and they that lie within shall be more safe, both from the greater and the smaller shot that lie

lie in wait upon the least peeping out with their heads, to pepper them. Therefore I do as much reverence Cecil for his caution, as love him for his tenderness, and adhere to his constancy.

At this time I will trouble you no further, lest I mar the cure which Cecil would perfect, and by this bad hand renew the pain of your eyes, which he doth constantly believe that I have caused by my scribbling. Other advertisements of the present state of things, both here and other where, you shall receive by the Earl of Marr, unto whom I have made address to that effect; and therefore wishing to yourself, and all your friends, complete happiness, with long fruition of that bright and comfortable fun which you enjoy, and others may be yet so happy as to see, before they close their eyes, I take my leave, and ever rest,

Your most affectionate,

and true friend for ever,

HENRY HOWARD.

It

It is advertised, that either you or D. Murray shall be sent to reside with us. Touching the first, I had rather that he should employ *Carnation* than Murray*; for the colour hath more life in it. Touching the second; tho' we should be overjoyed with your repair, yet the cause would suffer much upon the suspicion that would arise out of the circumstance of your quality, and other vipers would have so good a colour for their own inventions, having to deal with a lady, that rather hears than compares, numbers than weighs, and, by consequence, would make all probable that is poetry. We have a course, our Lord be thanked, more secret, safe, and singular, than agency can promise; for many seek

* A quibble on the word *Murray*, which signifies *darkly red*; *Johnson*. Mr Bruce was probably of a ruddy complexion, which makes Lord Henry Howard apply the word *Carnation* to him. D. Murray is Sir David Murray of Gospitrie, afterwards created Lord Scone.

employments

employments for their private ends, that are but — upon the causes — and motives to the Queen's suspicion, so long as they abide with us. So long as we deal in this manner, all is safe; but after the posting corveys of these messengers, there commonly ariseth such a vapor, as it is like to choke us a good while after they are returned. *Eft bene* be good words, and in use; *erit* is in question before experience: and therefore, without urgent and apparent cause, it were not safe, for the satisfaction of any curious respect, to shake the platform of a sure foundation. Again, be ever happy, most worthy and dear Mr Bruce, and love ever Cecil and me. *

* This letter has no date; yet it seems plain, that it is the first of three letters sent to Mr Bruce, whereof the second is dated 27th April, and the third 1st May. For, 1st, it is marked on the back 1. 2dly, In the second letter, it is said, that the first touches upon the report of King James's being to settle a resident at London. 3dly, In the second letter mention is made of copies inclosed.----So does this; and shews what they were.

L E T -

L E T T E R VII.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.

BY this second letter, most dear and worthy Mr Bruce, it is fit for you to understand some particularities which, upon very special consideration, as your own judgment will apprehend, are to be kept within the compass of your own knowledge, and of our Noble friend the Earl of Marr, without any other glimpse of light to be cast any way.

A person of great quality with you doth kindle daily more and more against the Earl of Marr and you. They do observe, that King James hath of late spent much time in writing into England, the contents whereof they cannot find by any art ; the King remaining at that time with Sir Thomas Ereskine in privacy, their purpose is to intercept

I

the

the packet, as it is advertised, if it be possible, and secretly to send it hither, if they be once surely possessed of it. For I can assure you, at this present, humours are so sharply set, as they do not much regard what prejudice the King's service do receive, so as they dissolve some private courses of correspondence, which they cannot found, cut the secret sinews by which the credit of their enemy doth move, and be revenged of all quarrels that are grounded upon ambition and emulation. Tho' I name no person, blame me not, yourself being the cause of my forbearing, by a caution which you gave me long ago, upon a demand how to demean myself, in case I found, that some did not *recto pede incedere ad evangelium*. Thus far you are beholden to your true friend Cecil, that he was willing I should give you notice of this particularity in a dumb shew, fastening his confidence upon your constant and secret love; for otherwise the King's packet being met withal, might give a blow
to

to the full concert, and yourselves, unwarned of the deadly malice that is borne to you, might incur danger. If it be said, that, so the neck of the Earl of Marr be broken first, they will not doubt of breaking others afterwards, imagine whether you have reason to provide securely for the guarding and preserving of yourselves, that are the foundation of that good which King James doth expect by their industry that trust in you.

I need not let you know of what weight this secret is, since in itself it is so manifest, nor how easily the author would resort to the discoverer, whom he trusteth in singularity, nor what mischief would ensue, by causing many factions upon the challenge of any particle. It is enough that friendship is discharged when you are admonished, that you are not unhappy in that friend, which hath an eye upon you when you sleep; and that matters may be prevented without noise, that cannot be cured without confusion. *Audi, vide, tace;*

which is enough for our comfort and your security.

So long as Cecil is holden to be *rasa tabula*, wherein, as I wrote before, every one contends to settle a particular conceit by such discoveries, they will endear themselves under the mask of trust; and therefore still make King James see how needful it is, that the pack of these advertisers be fed without surfeit, that they may speak without jealousy.

By your next dispatch by the pigeon, let me find whether you discover any thing of late in some great persons which concurs with this, that Cecil and I may think of it. God grant that over great preciseness in observing rules of civil reservation, give not strength and scope to passions that work confidently, when there are no means to meet with them; for nothing more emboldeneth audacious desires than facility and incredulity.

It is advertised, that either you or D. Murray shall be resident with us.

From

From D. Murray God deliver us; we should be overjoyed with your coming, but the cause would suffer by suspicion, and *boutefeux* should then have good colours for invectives, as in a mind that rather numbers than weighs, they would work any thing. You have a course more safe and secret than these agents are, who work their own employment for their own avail, but neither understand the mystery, or, tho' they understand, yet want they means to recompence the perils of their coming with any means equivalent to those which in their absence, as you find, is brought, beside the wasting of the King's treasure idly. So long as we deal in this manner, *est bene*; but upon the posting of these under-ministers, without an earnest cause, there doth arise a vapour that breeds great infection a great while after it. I have touched this point in the other letters also which King James should see; because the satisfaction of a curious desire may not destroy the platform of a sure foundation.

My undertaking, upon the religious oath, *coram Deo et angelis*, of the Earl of Marr and you unto me, that every paper should be burnt, upon collection of matter in your judgment fit for use, hath made Cecil the more willing to embark with you with confidence, and to give you warning of these main rocks under water, that, without precaution, would prove desperate. I pray you, dear Mr Bruce, by the next let Cecil perceive again, that your promise is precisely kept, and that the fortunes of this world, and state of lives remaining so uncertain as it is, you never mean to leave any record to accident, or *in manu fortunæ*, that may be in ashes, and *in manu consilii*: for more barks have miscarried and wrecked upon this flat than in the main ocean. Commend Cecil and me most affectionately to worthy Earl of Marr, and tell him, that Sir Thomas Ereskine would not adventure further out of true affection to preserve his life and honour than this unchangeable duality, that both of you
do

do link withal to yourself. Cecil hath required me to do the like; and we both assure you, out of long experience of your approv'd faith and honesty, that to travellers there is no comfort so great, as to light into honest, kind, and constant company. For experience shall make you know by exchange, that your friends are not more affectionate in your own parallel. Again, farewell, most dear and faithful Mr Bruce; and as you are a judge, so let me desire you, that after conference with the Earl of Marr, this paper, and all the rest that go to King James, may be, by your judgment, sentenced as speedily *ad combustionem*, as if it were guilty *hereticæ pravitatis*, and you were the chief inquisitor. Court, this 27th of April.

Yours affectionately and eternally,

HENRY HOWARD.

If any matter of importance, touching these demands, could have been brought to pass for King James, the Earl of Marr should have been admonished

nished to make his way for honour or advantage, before light had glimmered in the Duke's observing eye; but, since that serves not for the season, nor suits those suspicions and obstructions which increase with age, assure yourself, that no man that hates the Earl of Marr and you shall ever strain the credit of our worthy Cecil, to raise their reputation by working miracles; *hoc crede, et in hoc justificabimur.*

I have put all the copies into one bulk, and made address to King James, that he may peruse them at his pleasure, the more leisurely. Once again, dear Mr Bruce, farewell; and when you see honest and faithful 9, say no more to him from me, but, *Adam, ubi es?*

L E T -

L E T T E R VIII.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.

NEver was any lark more glad of day, moſt faithful dear and worthy Mr Bruce, than I am, that, at the folding up of this packet, after all had been viewed and reviewed, to ſteal a little time for the touching of ſome things, and adventuring them at this laſt puſh hopefully.

After that Northumberland had brought the letter of King James, written to himſelf, to Cecil, and withal preſented unto him certain meſſages by word of mouth, recommended to him alſo, as he ſays, by Percy from King James, Cecil ſeemed to accept his kindneſs very thankfully; but after he was departed, ſent for me, and ſeemed very much to wonder at the meſſages which Percy delivered, and you ſhall find

find set down in my second letter by this dispatch to King James. Because those messages did seem to set a greater price upon the man than he deserves, or Cecil, out of the knowledge of his falsehood, would wish that he should hold, and therefore because exceptions might seem more strange out of the mouth of him, in whose hand the letter was left in trust, than from me, whom duty and care of the service might move to speak plainly without particular respects, he desired me to write in my own style, as I have now done, to qualify this trust, and deliver plainly to his Majesty, under correction, what my reason judgeth of the measure that is to be kept with him. My answer which appeareth in my second letter to King James, did content exceedingly; and in few words, the measure which he desireth to be holden, and I also, in tenderness of zeal and incomparable affection to King James, hold most safe, is still to use him well, to retain this pledge of his profession
to

to make him sure, and as occasion doth serve, sometime to comply with courtesies, but never to give him the least light of any kind of favour or respect to Cecil, never to give him audience in his advices, which must either be idle, having no friend, or dangerous, being bent to particular [ends], and, last of all, that his Majesty cut off all ordinary traffic of intelligence, because it will let a thousand lights into the mystery.

The man is beloved of none, followed by none, trusted by no one nobleman or gentleman of quality within the land beside his faction, no not by the gentlemen or peasants of his own country, in respect of his vexation and sport, which you may know by your next neighbours; and the Queen repeated one month since, when she was moved in his behalf for a regiment, saying, That Raleigh had made him as odious as himself, because he would [not] be singular, and such were not to be employed by princes of sound policy.

licy. There is no secret which he revealeth not to all his own men, which Cecil would have your Majesty to know as from me, lest he should hold Cecil an accuser of a man that reposeth trust, though the true cause thereof be, as he says, not election of worth, but provision for security. It is far from me or Cecil to restrain the pen of King James, by advice, from giving good assurance unto great ones at their first approach, and to the meaner sort by messages; but *ibi ponat obicem*, comparing the danger with the debility, the likelihood of discovery with the poverty of advertisement: for whensoever King James receiveth from him, as Cecil willed me to write, any council-plot, caution or discovery that is worth the paper which he spends, he would have King James hold himself no body. If you hold this temper, you win ground; for I protest to God, nothing vexeth Cecil so much as trust imparted above merit unto men that are unsecret and indiscreet, weakening the wall sometime
 more

more in a day, by mining under ground among his fellow pioneers by giddiness, than we can devise to repair in a year by discretion.

The cause of his coming unto King James in such post of late, grew two ways, one by desire to have a kind of tack upon his complices, the other upon anger and vexation at the Queen's deep hatred and daily invectives; for finding his hopes in the present forlorn, which is a mortal wound to a mind that is ambitious, he seeks to bind upon the future, finding Mountjoy and Southampton planted, against whom his practices work everlastingly. But you know my old position, *five per i-ram, five per invidiam, modo prædicetur Christus*; the greatest care is in giving satisfaction without prejudice. No man alive could answer more judiciously, advisedly and reservedly, than King James did, *in verbo scripto*; but the traditions did a little trouble, which, upon the scanning of the matters, your next may satisfy, taking the

K

judgment

judgment only to be mine, and the King delivering his own proportions as seems best to him. You will observe a very strange trick in the end of my second letter to King James played by Northumberland, and which had undone us all if it had not been met withal, and now hath undone himself, if he did know what I know, utterly.

Dear Mr Bruce, in any case move King James by his next, to take in very thankful part the stopping of that practice; for it is true that, if you understood the secret, the merit is exceeding great; beside Sir Francis Vere's affection to King James, which I know to be resolute, therefore believe that gratitude upon occasion breeds affection to you further.

Cecil is infinitely desirous that King James, as he favours him, should write the letter of satisfaction concerning 40 by the very next dispatch; for it should seem to me, by secret intimation from Cecil this afternoon, that the party is a little tickle, and like *rasa tabula*,
that

that is, ready both to receive and to retain the first impression that is settled, and therefore put his Majesty in mind of the old maxim of our law, *Quod nullius est, occupanti conceditur*, and *in re dubia melior est conditio possidentis*. Cecil was glad that the wrong which Northumberland did to me from Percy's mouth, had given me just occasion to speak with that full spirit wherein I was careful that particulars might be delivered. The letter sent by King James to Northumberland was sealed with a hart in a half moon. I have not seen that seal before, which moved Cecil to make me ask, whether it were authenticall, or art were used by Percy to make propositions more plausible? for Northumberland in vanity and humour casts this figure in a thousand moulds, ever holding this foundation, that he would make the King fast to Raleigh and Cobham in triplicity.

It is advertised from you, that Sir Thomas Ereskine shall go Colonel into

the Low Countries, and there train more men against the day, and work upon the English also, both for assistance in the future, and intelligence instantly, and withal that Burley * goes to

* Sir Michael Balfour of Burlie, the volume A, 4. 5. in the Advocate's library, is chiefly composed of his negotiations; from them it appears that King James proposed to marry his son to the Duke's daughter; and as both were infants, that the Great Duke should pay part of the portion in hand, to be restored with interest in case the marriage should not take effect.

In the first draught of Burlie's instructions, the marriage also of the King's daughter, and the great Duke's son is proposed; but this would have occasioned a set-off, and spoilt the ready-money project; accordingly it is omitted in the ingrossed instructions.

There is a passage in Burlie's instructions, which shows that King James was not quite so secret in his English negotiations as he ought to have been. "Cum ab ipsius Celsitudine (says the King) prudentissime nobis fuisset consultum, ut ad nostrum in Angliæ regnum jus facilius consequendum, ad firmiorem intra regnum amicitiam promptiorem tutioremque viam pararemus: fieretque ut per dissidium Electoris Comitissæ et Cecilii regni secretarii, nostrum
" in

to Florence about contracts and crowns,
&c. &c.

Never write word to me of any thing

“ in incerto consilium versaretur, dubii utri po-
 “ tius esset inclinandum, quod hic aulae gratia,
 “ ille favore populi praevaleret, tandem ubi de
 “ Essexia jam actum est, eaque spes aliquatenus
 “ sopita, longius haud censuimus cunctandum,
 “ quin Celsitudinis suae oraculo moniti eam su-
 “ mus secuturi viam quam nobis judicaverit
 “ utilissimam.”

From the same volume it appears, that King James, after his accession to the throne of England, desired to borrow 500,000 crowns from the Great Duke. This sum he afterwards restricted to 300,000, payable in two years : and it is insinuated that now he would be able to save a million of crowns annually, which Queen Elisabeth used to expend upon the Irish wars, and for the maintenance of garrisons on the frontiers of Scotland.

The Great Duke seems to have had no great inclination to lend the money : he is very inquisitive about the nature of the security, and he hints, that the consent of the Pope was necessary. At this extraordinary subterfuge King James expresses his surprise, since Queen Elisabeth, though excommunicated, had been frequently engaged with Roman Catholic princes in borrowing and lending money.

by the pigeon, which you would not have used as a noun substantive, that is seen, felt, and understood ; for the packet is no sooner in my hand, but I resort to Cecil, and open it together instantly.

In this dispatch, if you mark and piece them thoroughly, which a man may see you do by all your answers, you will find good stuff of many sorts to work and to demur upon. Suppose when you read all, that I have as well a pen of adamant that will not shrink, as a heart of steel that will not yield, to do King James service ; for many may and do exceed my worth ; but I protest to God, in my own conceit none can exceed my affection. I charge you by the Trinity that these by-marks be only seen by King James, the Earl of Marr, and you ; and ever believe that I shall never joy in my soul till I make you know by some effect agreeable to my own desire how much you may dispose of me.

By the next letter take knowledge of
the

L E T T E R VIII. 115

the token which Cecil sent you for your eyes, that he may find how faithfully it was put up in the packet, and that it came safe to you.

This half-sheet is the last which you should read, though I put it in the first place to escape scrutiny. Farewell dear Mr Bruce, and the glorious Trinity prosper and preserve the royal babe that we think shall be this day christened. From the court this 1st of May * [1602]. Yours affectionately and eternally,

HENRY HOWARD.

I write this after my last letter to King James.

* This date seems certain, for the correspondence of letters could not have been begun in May 1601, and Queen Elizabeth died before May 1603.

L E T -

L E T T E R IX.

King James VI. to Lord Henry Howard.

MY dear Lord Henry, I perceive by your answer, that either you have mistaken the meaning of Mr Bruce, or else he mine, anent [concerning] my sending one to Queen Elisabeth. I have therefore thought good in my own laconic style to answer all your ample Asiatic and endless volumes * upon that subject, all your discourse being founded upon that question, Whether or no it be fit for me to have a resident lying there? whereof surely I never meant to doubt; for I have daily large experience, that no resident sent from me could accomplish the

* This is a very just censure of Northampton's affected and verbose style, which I am afraid may have tired the readers of this collection, as much as it ever did the King.

hundredth

hundredth part of that service which by the means of my worthy Cecil is performed unto me there, except, as a fool, I would ever be desirous of change: no, my meaning was only to have directed to Queen Elifabeth either Mr Bruce, or 9 [David Murray], as the necessity of some apparent occasion had required a greater or meaner messenger, by that means, once for all, to put a stay to the longing curiosity of men there, not of one or two discontented spirits, but of the most part of the wisest and honestest subjects of all ranks, that wonder they never hear from me, and cannot guess at the cause of my silence; and since it is not fit that they know what rock I have built upon, it is most requisite that by some fair shift I advise them to secure themselves upon my watchful providence against the due time, lest otherwise my long flat silence be misinterpreted by them to proceed either from a carelessness of my own state, or a contempt of them; and my meaning is, that the messenger

messenger should by Cecil his advice frame this answer unto them, and upon the dispatch of his public errand to Queen Elifabeth, to return again.

I am from my heart sorry for this accident fallen to Arbella *, but as nature enforces me to love her as the creature living nearest of kin to me, next my own children, so would I for her own well that such order were taken, as she might be preserved from evil company, and that evil-inclined persons might not have access unto her to supplant her abusing of the frailty of her youth and sex; for if it be true, as I am credibly informed, that she is lately moved by the persuasion of Jesuits to change her religion, and declare herself Catholic, it may easily be judged, that she hath been very evil attended on by them that should have had greater care of her, when persons

* Lady Arbella Stuart, daughter of Charles Earl of Lennox, the younger brother of Henry Darnley.

so odious, not only to all good Englishmen, but to all the rest of the world, Spain only excepted, should have had access to have conferred with her at such leisure, as to have disputed and moved her in matters of religion. And now to conclude, I do not forget to take notice of that new obligation I have to my dearest Cecil for his so wise and honest answers given to the French resident there *; but how the deepness of the King his master's reach and his may be best sounded and discovered, I wholly remit it to the provident wisdom of Cecil, of whose faithful diligence and yours in all things that may concern me, I shall never be forgetful, but shall ever remain,

Your most assured and loving
friend,

JAMES R. †

* See an account of this in Spottiswoode's History; B. 6. p. 471.

† This letter seems to be in answer to those of the 27th April and 1st May [1602.].

L E T T E R X.

Lord Henry Howard to the Earl of Marr.

IF, during this long space of inter-mitting traffic by intelligence, most noble, dear, and worthy Lord, I had not understood sometime by 9 *, the messenger of satisfaction, that his Majesty, with your Lordship, and worthy Mr Edward Bruce, were in good state of health, I should have been disquieted more than I can exprefs: For every morning I wish for the Earl of Foix his familiar at my chamber-door, to bring me word, that *in hac triplicitate* there is *solida et perfecta sanitas*.

We have in England here a strong opinion, that many men do breed their own children with pain in their teeth; and therefore when I heard, that wor-

* Probably David Murray: See the last letter.

thy Earl of Marr was afflicted with that torment, while my Lady was in our Lady's bands, I prayed earnestly, that there were no penance laid on you for some escape *in intermedio*. For that worthy Earl (who is now in heaven) was wont to say merrily to me, That a month was a very long term of abstinence, for a man that loved good fellowship, and kept no fasting days.

It grieves me to step out of this vein of merriment, because all this while I persuade myself, that I enjoy the comfort of your conversation as I was wont; but yet the difference is plain: for, like Æneas, when I would embrace a friend, I catch a shadow. Therefore, in some measure, envying those that live with you, till I may be so happy to do so among others, and in triplicity behold that *solem orientem*, which doth comfort all, I now betake myself to matters of more moment, though not of that alacrity.

Your Lordship may account yourself,
and your assistant Mr Edward Bruce,

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for

for the travail which you took at your being here; for all fruits that you planted prosper, and bear happily. Cecil willed me to let you know from him, that by the ignorance of those that live with us, and the blindness of their fellows that advertise from you, he doth daily more and more observe the faith that is observed, and the caution that is there practised. It is not long since one wrote hither, that the Earl of Marr supposing that the Duke of Lennox had in some sort tempered the sharp affections of King James to Cecil, by mild reports made of the courses which he found at his being here, had caused the Earl of Marr and his assistant to wax easier in their opposition, and less laxative in their exceptions against Cecil for his backwardness. This shews your secrecy, as he doth acknowledge, considering from whence it came, and inspires life and motion to the wheels of that chariot which the prophet met in the way to the great city. He is glad to hear, as he says, that you are well;
 though

though another write to him, that another is great: Health and greatness in a man so noble and worthy as yourself, as we think, cannot long be dissevered. I must tell your Lordship in secret, between you and me, in the wonted manner, without commission to advertise, that Cecil, fearing lest the Duke * or Belltrees had expressed fables in strange figures, could not guess at any other ground than some chimeras tendered from Cobham, Raleigh, and Northumberland, upon their offer to comply; although he knew by me, that you and Mr Bruce did so well know their qualities, at their being here, as they could abuse in no shape, if it were not under the disguised habit of pretended inwardness with him. For the clearing of which scruple, that which he did require me to advertise in the first of these two letters to the King, (which he read over, and approved much), may let you

* Duke of Lennox.

know sufficiently, what to conceive of that pretence; and yet Mr Bruce will inform you further also, what course may be taken for the making use of all advantages.

Kildare tells Cecil, that she conceives much better of her husband, and of Raleigh, than she was wont; because they rail not openly in the privy chamber, as their manner hath been heretofore. But Cecil did plainly shew, that they were much more circumspect, but not more kind; more cunning, but not more honest; though, for his own part, if their actions were just in other kinds, for so much as concerns the King of Scotland, he would neither blame nor justify. His eye, he said, was ever fixed on the Scottish sphere; and so far as the planets moved with this state in correspondency, he liked of their course; and held it the part of every honest man, to judge and speak according to this analogy. She told him, that all counsellors had shifts to save themselves from harsh constructions, though
their

their actions were opposite; but he would one day see, that the best course was to favour King James, rather than to follow the factions of other men. Upon this occasion, she told 9 [David Murray], that she knew not what reckoning to make of Cecil; for sometimes he spake of King James with respect, and afterward, in a long time again, he would never so much as speak of him.

If the Duke have recommended unto King James, as he promised, the damned crew, there is no doubt but his foundation lies strong: for both Raleigh and Cobham, since the departure of the Duke, have argued against the peril of the Queen's accepting the King's offer of the Highlandmen *; Raleigh proving by his own experience, that they are mutinous, rebellious, and dangerous. Cobham hath told the

* To serve in Ireland.

Queen, that the deputy's † success will make him more gracious in the sight of the rising sun which he honours; and both Cobham and Raleigh have violently pressed the Queen, for the intercepting of Dickenson the servant of Kildare; that through her side they may pierce King James, and at one stroke give the stab, both to that interest which he holdeth at present in the Queen's temperate conceit, and to the liberty which men now begin to take in making their professions to look to him. Add unto these particulars, what is inserted in my letters to the King; and then your Lordship shall perceive, that men can hardly do more in so short a time, to make good the Duke's undertaking for their good affections to his Majesty.

It is true, as Northumberland, one of the concert, affirms, that all other colours of competition are extinct; that there is great danger of being ta-

* Lord Montjoy.

ken sleepers at tray-trip, if the King sweep suddenly; that the world doth universally bend their biasses to the Scottish side; that the glass of time being very far run, the day of the Queen's death may be the day of their doom, if they do not agree with their adversary upon the way, lest he deliver them to the judge, the judge to prison, *unde non exhibunt donec ultimum quadrantem solverint*. Upon these grounds, they resolve to make a proffer toward the north; but without the word of Charles V. *Plus ultra*, which was once Imperial, and therefore now refuseth limitation within their chapter-house.

I protest unto your Lordship, that at this day, all men speak as freely of the next succeeding time and heir with us, as if they were instantly to receive an oath at Edinburgh: and therefore no marvel, though men that can draw no partners in, to consent to take a true man's purse at Shooter's hill, insert themselves into the company of honest men, the *bene esse*, and *in omnium eventum*,

ventum, till they find a better booty, or an expectation of prey that better pleaseth them.

Sir John Fortescue *, speaking a while agoe with a dear friend of his own, of the weakness of the time, said, That his comfort was, that he was as old and weak as the time itself, being born in the same year with the Queen; but yet he would advise his son to take a right course when the hour came, without taking knowledge in the meantime, of any person or pretension; for he had found by experience, that they that met Queen Mary at London, were as well accepted, (standing free from former combination) as they that went to Framingham; and that they that came into the vineyard *hora undecima* had *denarium*, as well as they that had sweated before all their fellows. The practice of opponents, as he thought,

* Chancellor of the Exchequer,

would

would cause the labours of all men to be holden and accounted meritorious that had so much discretion, as in the meantime to be silent and indifferent. My Lord of London *, using this argument to me the other day, drawn from this blind authority, I told him, that I did like well of that old knight's direction, and for my own part, would allow such an Adiaphoriste. Notwithstanding, I think that those competitors of expectation and heirs of hope were secretly encouraged, to make more account of *anticipatione*: for *denarius* is *æterna vita*, not *modus præmii*; and therefore harmless attenders upon fortune's oracles may have *locum in choro*, but the text doth not promise *vocem in capitulo*. They that met Queen Mary at London, without labouring or working any way for her admission before that fatal hour came, were freed from

* Richard Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

punishment,

punishment, but never, that I find, employed with confidence; excepting only one or two, that were sick for fear, and made that an excuse of their loitering to a princess that believed antiquity; but such persons as they think *, that are adventurous, never call to mind the *recordare*, which was used to the glutton by Abraham; *Recordare, quia recepisti bona in vita tua, et Lazarus similiter mala; nunc autem hic consolatur, tu vero cruciaris*; nor who it was that said, *Qui mecum patitur, mecum coronabitur*.

Bothwell † hath written of late into Scotland; the letters are current among great persons: and though it be as great a secret as any we account of,

* There is something wanting in the MS.; probably, “*who think that others are,*” &c.

† Francis Stewart Earl of Bothwell; the recital of whose various fortunes would require a volume.

your

your Duke and good-brother * knows of it, and hath read the letters : In one of which he promifeth, ere it be long, to land in Scotland, or near to Scotland ; and, touching the King of Spain, whom he calls his mafter, he tells miracles. If ever word were fpoken, or ſhew made of this, I were undone ; for I am charged not to ſpeak, conſidering from whom we receive this advertisement.

Your Lordſhip is hardly borne by great ones ; but it ſkilleth not, ſince the greateſt knows your worth, and proves your merit. The bawds bark at worthineſs, when it arrives at the port of honour ; but, in time, either they grow familiar, or a piece of bread with a pin will quiet them †.

Raleigh and Cobham, as they vaunt themſelves, have agreed with the Duke

* Duke of Lennox, whoſe ſiſter, Lady Mary Stewart, was the wife of the Earl of Marr.

† Alluding to a method of killing dogs, by giving them a morſel, in which ſomething ſharp is concealed.

to further all the plots that shall be recommended hither, and returned back with a new crest for the weakening of you and Mr Bruce; whom they give out to be opposite to the Duke, in seeking to hold King James at the Queen's devotion, and to draw him all they can from having a good conceit of the Queen, or her chief counsellors of state, resenting still the death of Essex, and desiring for revenge the state's confusion. Cecil knows all this, and makes the better sport; because he hears that all their flattery to him, is only to incense him against you and Mr Bruce, and to draw the King, by compliments from hence, to entertain both there and here new followers and favourites. Your Lordship may believe, that hell did never spew up such a couple, when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon. They are now set on the pin of making tragedies, by meddling in your affairs; since among us, longer than they follow the Queen's humour in disclaiming and disgracing honest men,

men, their credit serves them not : For my Lord Admiral * the other day wished from his soul, that he had but the same commission to carry the cannon to Durham-house, that he had this time twelvemonth to carry it to Essex house, to prove what sport he could make in that fellowship.

I beseech your Lordship to inquire of King James, whether the manager for Raleigh with the Duke were Sir Robert Crosse or Sir Arthur Gorge; because Raleigh told Cecil the other day, of Gorge's being in Scotland a long while ago, and what he observed there: King James hath forgotten the name; and yet Cecil, I do believe, did guess unhappily.

I wish some time, with my soul, your Lordship and Mr Bruce were with me and Cecil, to laugh at this convention of the King's new followers, that think to catch the wind in a net, and

* Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham.

to dance in a net; and yet no man able, by the working of some secret charm, to look on them.

I humbly beseech your Lordship to intercesse for honest and faithful 9, that, for his credit, and the notice of his faithful service in these parts, it would please his Majesty to grace him with some badge of his benignity.

Cecil hath been sick of this new disease, as your Lordship may see by this scribbling: and make his excuse for not adventuring with his aching head to indite to King James, but to use a bad secretary, which is myself, to express his affection and thankfulness.

King James did so rightly touch the right vein of his content at this time, both in that he wrote with his own gracious hand, and in that which he signified by Mr Bruce, as it is not possible for more satisfaction to dwell in him.

I have sent to King James a full answer to his articles, according to the portion of time which I could spare from

from letters, in this streight of time; hoping that your Lordship and Mr Bruce will supply by your construction what wanteth in my ability.

Sweet Lord, I beseech you be careful, that all be burnt, after King James hath been pleased to run over them. The world's mistaking of your service, shews your wisdom in deserving; no less by concealment of the course, than in working the conclusion.

Mr Bruce will tell your Lordship, that I am grown a Spaniard, according to my Lady Kildare's conceit, though, in respect of kindred, she be forry, and the only man that detains Cecil from affecting King James and his hopes hitherward. Because *justus est prior accusator sui*, I accuse myself; that by my falsehood you may conclude, that either there is no faith in Israel, or not at Durham house in likelihood, if I become an apostate, and as St Paul says, *cum aliis prædicaverit ipse fiat reprobus*,—my head, my hand, and all

is weary ; therefore I beseech your Lordship to excuse my scribbling.

Postscript to the Earl of Marr.

Sweet Lord, not knowing how far it doth like you, that our Royal King James should look into this particular, which concerns a private course, I thought good for the safest course, *in omnem eventum in abstracto*, to advertise it.

It is advertised by a very secret mean, as your Lordship, by looking into the matter, may conceive ; that both by letter, and again at Stirling by discourse, your worthy, constant, and most careful wife, did challenge the Duke of unkindness, for opposing against you, that were so nearly allied to him, and never wronged him. She sought to justify your constant dealing in his absence ; and further urged him, in case he were not clearly satisfied, to discharge the bottom of his stomach, for dispersion of all crudities that were thus multiplied,

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plied, for separation and distraction in amity. The Duke, as it is said, did in a sort clear you, and lay the burden on some near friend of yours, which, as he thought, abused you.

Since that, about the 15th of May, the Duke and your Lordship coming late together from Dumfermline by accident, things came to be so nearly sifted between you and him, as your Lordship sought most earnestly, that Sir Thomas Erskine might be charged with the full weight of all former imputation; which the Duke in no wise would admit, but charged you upon the bond of brotherhood not once to deal in it. His reason was, because it might be, that Sir Thomas Erskine, out of an humour of ambition to shut up the King's services within himself, without ill will or malice to himself, had proceeded thus far; in respect whereof he would not have your Lordship any way to stir, till he saw further time; which you did promise him.

This secret cometh from as close a

cabinet as any is among your opposites ; and taking the least vent by discovery, might do much harm. Wherefore I leave it among many other mysteries in the cabinet of your true friendship ; and desire that it may rest there, till I send the key of confidence, and dispensation to set it at liberty.

It is said, that Roxburgh * is yet a friend to the Duke, but of no constant proof ; which made the Duke, in being at his house, to use reservedness ; whereof the other hath complained bitterly.

Burn this, dear Lord, and retain the writer in your worthy conceit ; who is, and ever will be yours, while he is any thing.

June 4. [1602.]

HENRY HOWARD.

* Robert Carr Earl of Roxburgh.

L E T T E R X I.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr E. Bruce.

THough it be certain that the long pause which you took in answering the three packets, most dear and worthy Mr Bruce, did move some scruples in the mind of Cecil and me, that somewhat had miscarried, considering our earnest instance for present satisfaction to the admiral *, who thought every day a year till he heard from thence; yet King James in this last hath plainly specified the motive of that pause; and you have so particularly traced every point, as that we do now more commend the sober elephant, which by long travelling delivereth her burden safe, than the fleet brache, *quæ cæcos parit catulos*.

The rare experience which we have had of a sweetness, patience, and thank-

* Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham.

fulness

fulness in the mind of our most inestimable King James, above all other princes of his time, at the least, if not of any time, makes us more adventurous upon that coast than any other in the world, and more willing to commend our humble counsels to the moderation of his mild spirit, than his condition to events of after-claps.

Dear Mr Bruce, you may conceive, that this duality of Cecil and me in their divers parallels, have been as strongly exercised, and as soundly seasoned for all essays, as any whatsoever in this land. We know very well of what weight those motives ought to be that should induce us once to touch the hem of that vesture which we believe and wish to be inviolate. Both you and the Earl of Marr *, at your being here,

* The reader must always remember, that King James was to have the inspection of this letter, and therefore it was proper to say somewhat of the commendations bestowed by the Earl of Marr upon Queen Anne. That he was indeed so eloquent in her praise, is not very probable.

here, have made us acquainted with many royal parts invested in that person which is dear to him, that is more dear to us than any pen can deliver. We apprehend the curse of heaven against all giddy *boutefeux* that dare presume to put their hand between the bark and that cedar-tree whose shadow yieldeth *refrigerium optatissimum in aestu rapacissimo*. We taste the bitterness of all fruits that spring out of suspicion in the bond of love. We do imagine that we feel, or rather we feel indeed, the wound of a kind affection in so great inwardness; we foresee the disturbances of good courses in so clear a calm; we fear the drowning of fair sequences, by imaginations improved idly; we conceive the tenderness of insinuation that belongs to such an office; we doubt the peril of discovery by light of circumstance; we presume

probable. Their quarrel about the custody of Prince Henry's person, in 1595, was much too violent to be forgotten on either side. See *Dr Birch's Life of Prince Henry*, p. 11.—13.

precipitation

precipitation of accidents without a sure foundation.

But having now to deal with a prince of so sweet nature, as can hear without passion, observe without taxation, reduce without distemper, distinguish without prejudice, allow what is due to merit, fortify what is subject to circumvention, and (which we reverence and value above all) use caution without condemnation; there is no cause to shrink upon the fear of shadows, which make shews, to nourish minds with milk that are able to digest stronger food, nor to conceal those circumstances which do only tax facility, with advantage to those instruments whose purpose is *sub viridi* to sting mortally. For we that live here in a milder climate, and are taught by custom to esteem of princes, states, and accidents, with greater caution, respect, and tenderness, than the Scottish liberty regards *; the values that are set on

* A remarkable saying: it is the language of one bred up under the domination of the imperious house of Tudor.

them,

them, may justly be dispensed with in measuring those perils by the compass of our own, and in taking those discreet and wary courses, not only for description, but for prevention of harms, which both out of affection we would, and out of duty should, *in re politica*, in case King James were at this present what he is like in time to be.

No person living, dear Mr Bruce, can ascribe more honour to Queen Anne, nor belove her with greater reverence and confidence, in respect of her own royal and worthy parts, than Cecil and I, holding it in our conceit a matter as impossible for her mind to harbour an unkind conceit against a royal husband, so respective, kind, religious, and chaste, than for the sea to brook a dead body, for any faculty to work out of itself against itself, or worthy causes to bring forth effects that are contrary. *Sed de iis distinguendum inter sapientes, quæ per se contingant, et quæ per accidens.*

If that worthy princefs, or any princefs

cess in the world, were able at all times to judge of offers made by all sorts of instruments, rather by the mild eye of her own columbine integrity, than the spectacles of infused prejudice; if it were possible to walk among scorpions without peril, or upon a green swarf without miring, where shadows abuse simplicity; if the glimmering of her countenance might not be a mask for greater mischiefs than her mildness doth apprehend; if they that falsely vaunt themselves to move by divine influence, would move no faster, nor any farther than that compass leads; if nothing more could happen in the course of agitation than at the first was molded *in proposito*; if they that seek her countenance when they cannot get the King's, and to make a separation *in individuo*, had the same ends with her, and did not pretend *apparentia*, when they purpose *pessima*, which is far from her perfection; if it were as well in their election that walk down hill to stop suddenly, as it was in theirs that

that

that put them forward at the first, not to use either motion or impulsion at all; if we did not find by the theoric of heaven itself, that the virtue of those planets, which by nature are benign and gracious, by ungracious irradiations and aspects of others, lose a great part of their own perfection, though they change not to malignity, we need no more to be afraid of any course or action wherein Queen Anne hath either intelligence or share, than that a vine should produce any fruit that were venomous; for *qualis est causa procatartica, talis est effectus ordinarius*; and the spirit of truth itself hath said, that *ut ex eodem fonte emanent amara et dulcia* ἵσι ἀδύνατον.

But what man alive is able by discretion or authority to bound the practices of ill-affected instruments, which to bring themselves into the ways of their own undutiful intentions, do not care how bright and clear the star be that direct them, so they may be sure of dark nights afterward to make preys

N

upon

upon passengers; the children of the prophets themselves taking pleasure sometime to pick sallads *inter herbas agrestes*, though they meant nothing less, yet among other simples did gather *coloquintida*. We know very well of what sex she was that believing suddenly, because she thought none had been worse affected than herself, found no better excuse in the end, than that the serpent had deceived her. Out of curiosity to distinguish *inter bonum et malum*, by tasting fruit that was forbidden, grew the sinart of posterity. The razor that is used for the cutting away dead flesh, may, by mistaking sometime, cut those veins and sinews, *quibus et vegetamur et vivimus*. *Qui tangit picem inquinabitur*, and especially that kind of pitch which is *infesta regibus*. These secret ever-droppers were not wise enough in their own generation, in case they should acquaint Queen Anne, whose intentions are pure, with the worst and uttermost that is intended and endeavoured by their own perversity.

perverſity. The ſirens ſing, the crocodiles lament, the devil himſelf is transformed in *Angelum lucis*, that he may ſeduce thoſe ſouls that are innocent. The Duchefs of Pennaſcol in Arragon, being perſuaded by ſome ſycophants at court to give the King a certain decoction for increaſe of kindneſs to herſelf, gave him opium in ignorance, which made him to ſleep longer than ſtood well with his ſecurity. So long as a gentle ear is open to perſuaſion, there will not want a ſerpent's tongue to corrupt affection. The preſumption of malecontents doth ever ground itſelf upon the facility of thoſe diſpoſitions that are leaſt apt to ſuſpect harm : where the motive of inſinuation proceeds from a pretence to concur with all affections in correſpondency, compaſſion of feigned tears, eaſineſs to be abuſed with illuſions of outward ſhews, deſire to be reputed merciful toward thoſe which complain moſt bitterly when they have loſt their ſting, without examination of grounds,

gives advantage to presumption, assistance (though against their wills) to dissimulation, and encouragement to conspirators: *Inter scorpiones nemo securus ingreditur*. The way to prevent peril, is to eschew the means. Marks are set upon doors, to prevent sound bodies from contagious resorts; *non est arandum cum bove et asino*; and that *vinum amabile*, which looketh like amber in the cup, as the Proverbs [speak], if the wisest ladies in the world be not wary and advised above expectation, *in fine mordebit ut coluber*.

Far be it from us to accuse those that are innocent in heart, when we labour to prevent those, *qui domos penetrant ut illudant credulitati*. We mean not to demonstrate errors, but to anticipate advantages; not to diminish confidence, but to arm facility; not to move suspicion, where affections are found, but to purge all causes of scandal, that faith alone may be soundly justified. Our end is only to awake
your

your caution, in putting vile persons, malecontents and *boutefeux*, out of their unworthy trade, that, under colour of access, feed faction, and, by suggesting motives of discontent, pleasing humours, and pretending faith, conceal their treachery. We humbly wish that King James will be more than ordinarily watchful in removing all deceiving spirits, which were able to deceive the very saints themselves, if for the true elects sake the days were not limited. No true friends under heaven can be dispensed with in secreting or covering those fores of inward anguish in the minds of ill instruments, which for want of caution in cutting off their current, like the fire of St Anthony, *ex post facto*, may impostumate; for of philosophers we learn, that *genii*, of the divines, that *boni angeli* are appointed by God to be secret counsellors in directing all men to those ends which providence appoints; and therefore it were requisite that princes should be made acquainted with their

own affairs by such familiars, as living in a purer element, can best prognosticate what storms are like to light *ex signis imminentibus*. By premonition to princes that are temperate and wise, the worst that can succeed, is caution upon some likely cause; but by concealment of impulsive accidents, it happens that the mischief lighteth in our necks before we prepare the remedy. The burgeses of Troy began to groan, and to lament, when the battery drew near; but Cassandra the true prophetess advertised when Sinon began to work. Idle artificers think it sufficient to have a well in their house to quench fire if it chances to kindle; but a wary workman hath an eye to the furnace, that all sparks may be smothered. *Dicit piger, leo est in via*; but a trusty sentinel gives a quick alarm upon the first ambuscado that appears in his speculation, *quod si speculator viderit gladium venientem et buccina non insonuerit*, saith the Holy Ghost, *ille quidem in iniquitate sua capietur*.

If

If there were any thing in this world, next to the life of our own sovereign, so precious and dear to Cecil and me, as the preservation of the succeeding Majesty; if there were any other mean of securing both estates, both in present and future, beside his maintenance; if we could make choice of any other grounds whereon to meditate, or causes whereon to joy, after the setting of that sun which now shines chearfully, beside himself; if, “had I wist,” were were a dispensation upon default for suspended advertisement; if we could presume of life an hour with a quiet conscience, after we were able justly to accuse ourselves of negligence, in setting light presumptions of peril, which are the seeds of smart to follow, and in time might either have been diverted by discretion, or at the least avoided by advertisement; if daintiness were as excusable as caution is expedient: to conclude, if one and the same reason have exempted oversights in war, and too great negligence in scanning
perils

perils that concern the lives and states of princes, from dispensation and remission, *quod commissa reparare nequeant*, and without discovery of agitation, there can be found no other ease to conscience and endless love; you [may] persuade yourself, dear Mr Bruce, that we would have traversed a thousand secret paths, and have cast our care in as many diverse moulds, before we had presumed once to touch a circle fortified with so many binding characters of confidence and religious respect, or have drawn the constant eye of King James by the shadow to find out the longitude. We do but offer; he must judge; we do but aim, he must direct; we admonish, he must examine; we are the ecchoes that resound, he must search the concavities. For whensoever King James by his judgment shall secure such kinds of traffic from suspicion, we will strait submit our judgments without scrupulosity. In the mean time, heaven and earth shall witness with our souls, that we neither
have

have forborn, nor ever will forbear to premonish and advertise, whatsoever may directly or indirectly tend to the conservation of that dear King, both in his person and estate, keeping still in mind that maxim of the philosophers, That by neglecting *media*, we are guilty of the conclusion; that of the canonist, *Malum qui non impedit adjuvare dicitur*; and, above all, a principle of common sense, That princes are the fittest judges of all circumstances that belong to themselves in particular. The burden of our love and conscience being once discharged into that ocean of deep consideration, wherein, as St Augustin writes of a deeper mystery, a gnat may swim, and an ox may drown, we resort to private moderation, with a purpose to like best of those things which his wisdom shall resolve, but withal to pray incessantly, that he may resolve upon such motives as are safest for himself, *in cujus unius salute communis salutis cardo vertitur*.

But now, dear Mr Bruce, to prove
that

that our fears have been such, as according to the judgment of your own Civilians, both may and ought to *cade-re in virum constantem*, to let you see withal the difference between this time, wherein the perils of ineluctable King James are scanned with curiosity, and those former times, wherein they were created, praised, and abetted without scruple, I will lay down so many demonstrations as are ripe for discovery, and appeal to your own judgment, whether it were not requisite, in case we should either not hear what is founded, nor regard what threatened, or not advertise what is certified, that our Blessed Saviour should come again, and say to us, as he did to the deaf and blind man in the gospel, *Ephphatha*.

Out of France it hath been now thrice advertised, that persons of best credit with the King have earnestly persuaded him to have an earnest eye to the Scottish state; because time never served so fitly for the plotting of his projects as
now,

now, when not only *Ruben in se diviso*,
facta est magnanimorum contentio, but
beside a secret flaw will further some
proceedings that as yet is undiscovered.
Dethick * directed much about the same
time by a secretary to the Duke of Flo-
rence, who is *French* for life, under the
colour of a sleeveless errand, addeth to su-
spicion; depending upon Shirley †, who
doth

* I have not been able to discover what is
meant by Dethick.

† The famous Sir Anthony Shirley, a partisan
of Spain; able, insinuating, false. His nego-
ciations with King James, may possibly be here-
after published.

What follows may serve as a specimen of Shir-
ley's dangerous politics. He thus writes,
“ Since one great strength of his Majesty's oppo-
“ site groweth upon the good success and pro-
“ spering of the present authority which now ru-
“ leth England under her Majesty, he must be
“ contented to waste away the vigour of that by
“ some insensible yet powerful means, and to
“ suffer the impoverishment of that state for the
“ present, that the particular grievances of the
“ subjects may make *them* odious ever which now
“ govern them, whensoever God shall send an al-
“ teration: for which he hath excellent means,
“ as

doth only watch to fet his compafs, as the reasons and respects of state embolden him. The coming of the French ambassador * at this time, when he can alledge least likelihood of any reasonable cause to fend, considering the quiet on all coasts by which the French should fail, secures all uncertainties. The

“ as declared amply by Mr Keith, and part of
 “ that purpose is already acted here by some
 “ good means, which hath been wrought, the
 “ Venetians having restrained the English from
 “ trading to any part of their dominions, but
 “ the port of Venice only. — Since it is most
 “ necessary to make that state as weak as may
 “ be, so that it may have validity only to stand, he
 “ must be pleased to foment the wars of Ireland
 “ in such sort, that the Queen may be ever
 “ driven to expence, and that no necessity oblige
 “ the Spaniard again to intermingle himself in
 “ his Majesty’s interest; so that he may be kept
 “ free for all accidents which may occur.”
MSS. Advocates Library. The reader will be
 shocked, at seeing an Englishman propose mea-
 sures so desperate and unnatural.

* Baron De Tours. He set out from Paris
 24th June 1692.; *Winwood*, vol. 1. p. 422.

purpose

purpose doth agree directly with the warning which was given the Queen by some whom she has greatest cause to trust in France, that *in illam et illum hæc cudetur faba*; and that this minister is only sent to sound the depths of all your channels, what vessels, and of what burden they can carry, if occasion fall out, to make adventures to those parts, and what pilots among your greatest malecontents may be wrought upon.

From Rome hath been twice advertised, that strange assurances have been sent from Scotland, of great mysteries and miracles to be wrought, in case the prince * could once be put in the hands of a catholic, whereof they were in hope, by the favour and endeavour of a powerful instrument, which would strongly labour it. Correspondent comforts in like manner have been sent from Rome to Scotland, in case the foreign princes catholic might be once assured of the prince's education, and

* Henry Prince of Scotland.

the powerfulness of those that favoured the change, that they should not absolutely cast away the seed that were bestowed on them to these good purposes. We love not to compare examples, further than necessity and tenderness doth form comparison *. But as I will not speak of her that is united to the worthiest *in individuo*, because we hold her virtues to be radical, and like herself; so, on the other side, I would not willingly live to that day, wherein the prince's education should rest in the hands of such as are either malecontents, or favour malecontents, whatsoever shadows may be cast, or excuses formed, to cloud jealousy. They that desire to draw an unwilling instrument to an unsafe counsel, must deceive as the serpent did, by dazzling the superficial conceit, with *Ecce Christus in penetralibus*; for believing that Queen Anne would abhor the counsel that did carry

* Alluding probably to Queen Anne's former attempt to get the custody of Prince Henry,

prejudice

prejudice in the very forehead to her worthy King, they take other ways in assuring her, that these alterations are safe for this estate, that she shall be *sicut Dii, sciens bonum et malum*; and that this change of music will not found any discord in the ear of the King, but awake him out of his lethargy. It chanceth often in the apothecaries shops, *ut tituli habeant remedia, pixides venena. Cum Absalom ibant multi simplice corde, et causam penitus ignorantes*; and every man doth know, how easy it will be accord those *in positivo*, that square in the superlative. If at this present there be many serpents in your state that suggest gross flatteries in the weaker sex, and without revealing the inside of their hearts, make her believe, that the way to greatness is possession, though this fair flower have a bitter root; if out of her facility they wax audacious, in encouraging their *boute-feux* abroad to work upon presumed comforts, which in time they hope to bring to pass; if this particular be

made a motive to disturbance consequent, as doth appear by manifest discovery; if this eccho do rebound from foreign parts, before King James be advertised at home: it is no bad nose that descries the match before the piece take fire; for what effects may grow by disproportion between strong desires, and how suddenly the fire of a secret faction doth break out, of endeavours that are opposite, though we could forget, yet late experience would testify *.

Out of the Archduke's camp, one of her Majesty's greatest commanders hath been advertised, that a fire will break out in Scotland before it be long, which makes Cecil to fear, knowing in what state King James stands with England at this day, that other trains made under ground by secret pioneers, within the body of that state itself, may break out when it is least looked for.

* Alluding to the tumult raised by Essex.

Add hereunto the gallant maintenance of Gowrie's son *, so near to Scotland, and with so great shews, though no man knows from whence, beside Sir John Cary †, who is holden to be very inward

* Patrick Ruthven, the son of William Earl of Gowrie. It was he who wrote the admirable letter to the Earl of Northumberland, which has been published in the Cabala, and in other collections of that nature. His daughter was married to Vandyck: *Walpole's Anecdotes of painting*, vol. 2. p. 98.

† Sir John Cary, son of Lord Hunfdon, and governor of Berwick. After the death of John Earl of Gowrie, 5th August 1600, his two brothers took refuge in Berwick. Sir John Cary corresponded with Cecil on this subject 10th August 1600, he thus writes. "The King has made great search, and lays great wait for the two younger brothers, who, by great fortune, escaped from the schools; and not daring to tarry in Scotland, they are this day come in to Berwick cloiely, in disguised apparel; and being brought to me, they only desire, that their lives may be safe, and they may have a little oversight here, till the truth of their cause may be known: And the pitiful case of the old distressed good Countess hath made me the

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"willinglier

ward in that course, as certain gentlemen in the north, making several collections

“willinglier to give my consent for their stay
 “here a while, till I may, by your honourable
 “means, know the Queen’s Majesty’s pleasure,
 “whether they shall stay here, or go some whither
 “farther into the country; for they only desire
 “the safety of their lives; and the old Countess’s
 “case is pitiful and lamentable. I beseech
 “your honour, let me know her Majesty’s pleasure,
 “with as much speed as may be; for that
 “I would do nothing to offend her Majesty. The
 “poor gentlemen stole into the town this morning
 “closely, and I could not well turn them out
 “again, seeing they come for refuge to save their
 “lives, till I know her Majesty’s further pleasure
 “therein.”

24th August 1600. “Upon the receipt of
 “your letter of the 16th August, according to
 “the contents thereof, I did send for the tutor
 “of the two gentlemen, the Earl of Gowrie’s
 “brothers, who, for my own part, I have not
 “yet seen since their coming into the town, so
 “close have they kept themselves, as they have
 “never yet stirred out of their chamber which
 “they first entered into, to look abroad; I conferred
 “with their tutor, which might be the securest
 “way for their own safety, advising them,
 “for their better security, to go farther off from
 “these

lections of tokens visible, and words
let fall, have advertised their own conceits,

“ these bordering places, where the King might
“ not so easily hear of them, and their being. I
“ wished them to repair towards Richmond, or
“ to Rippon, or to about Hull, or to some other
“ such inland towns out of the way, where the
“ King might not so easily have intelligence of
“ them, and so they to be freer from the danger
“ of their countrymen, who are very conversant
“ upon the street-ways. He liking very well
“ hereof, yielded willingly thereto; desiring
“ only, for that they came very meanly in, without
“ either money, horse, or apparel, to have
“ three or four days respite, that they might
“ send to their friends for money and nags, and
“ such other necessities as should be fit for their
“ journey; then will they presently depart as secret
“ as may be; and in the mean time, they
“ shall remain very close, till their necessities be
“ gotten, which will be within four days.”

4th September 1600. “ Before this day, I
“ could not by any means get the present Earl of
“ Gowrie and his brother out of the town; for
“ that they had sent to their mother for maintenance,
“ and could not hear till now any thing
“ from her; and now it falls out so ill with them,
“ as she hath sent them no manner of maintenance,
“ hoping they should have staid here
“ still;

ceits, in consequence with those other fears which have been formerly advertised.

The

“ still; neither dares she trust many of her servants; for if it should be known, that she did any manner of way either give them succour or maintenance, or any manner of help, she should presently forfeit, and be thrown out of all that she hath. Such secret search and privy spial is there through the whole country for her and her sons, as no friend either dare or can travel between them; such privy search is laid for them in all places, as almost no man can travel in their country but he is searched. And if I had sent them sooner away, I should but have sent them to, very great danger, either of being killed or taken; for that they being very poor themselves, and having no friends, nor any acquaintance, could neither have told whither to have gone, or what to do. But, finding their necessities, and their willingness to submit themselves to any appointment, and for that I would have them out of the town before any fault were found, I have found means, that they are furnished with some money, and are stolen privately out of the town. I have sent them, with a man of mine own, to Durham, where they shall be secretly for a twenty days, till their mother

“ ther

The Master of Gray hath had long conference with Queen Anne; since which

“ther may take some better order for their
“maintenance; and then they mean to travel
“to Cambridge, and there to study for a time.
“They have none but themselves, and their
“schoolmaster with them. All the time of their
“being here they were as in a prison; for no-
“body ever saw them, neither did they ever stir
“out of their chamber, so as there can be no
“certainty known of their being here, but on-
“ly upon mistrust; and as secretly are they
“gone out of the town.”

21st September 1600. “I have even now
“presently received your letter of the 15th of this
“instant, understanding thereby the Queen’s Ma-
“jesty’s pleasure for the Earl of Gowrie’s two
“brothers. All that hath been said of them,
“touching their behaviour here in Berwick, is
“but surmises and supposes by the contrary par-
“ty. For I will assure your honour, upon my
“faith, it could not have been better carried,
“nor closer handled by any creatures living,
“than by them, during their being here; for
“myself did never see them but once, and that
“was at midnight, only myself; and for any o-
“ther, I know they kept themselves close enough;
“for they durst do no otherwise, they were
“so afraid of themselves. They went away as
“secretly;

which time his style is heaved up *co-thurno altiore*, as Cicero said of Anthony. Divers of Gowrie's nearest and dearest friends * have secret access to persons of great quality ; they keep old issues open, and feed spleen against all those that are employed and trusted in the courses of the present state, which the King's wisdom tempereth. Mow-

“ secretly ; and to Durham they went long
 “ since, with an intent to pass onward to Cam-
 “ bridge, as I did before signify to your honour.
 “ So as what is now become of them, I know
 “ not, neither where they be ; for since their
 “ departure, I have not heard of them any
 “ thing ; so as I know not where to hear of
 “ them. Thus much I thought good with speed
 “ to certify you, that with speed there may be
 “ some course taken for their dispatch, ac-
 “ cording to her Majesty's pleasure.” MS. *Paper-office*. By comparing these transcripts with the letter from Lord Henry Howard, the reader will perceive that Cecil did not disclose every thing that he knew to King James.

* It appears from the letters of Nicolson to Cecil, preserved in the Paper-office, that Beatrix Ruthven, sister of Gowrie, was privately admitted into the presence of Queen Anne of Denmark.

bray

bray * to Daniel and others did confess a purpose in his own heart, to be made an instrument against the person of the King, whensoever he were set in hand, and to affect all persons opposite to the present carriage of your affairs, as he would demonstrate upon the first opportunity. If other *embryones*, which are yet *informes*, but yet dangerous, come any nearer to the likelihood of any formal shape, his Majesty shall be advertised; though, in the mean, we repute it a great indiscretion to reveal our uttermost, before the desire of utterance, out of a sound affection, become so strong as the son of *Cræsus* would, by straining, break the strings of his tied tongue, to deliver what his love and duty binds him to. I conclude with advertisements out of your element to ours, from persons very much disliked by the King, of their increase of

* Francis Mowbray, son of the Laird of Barnbougle, engaged in some conspiracy against King James. See *Spottiswoode's History*, p. 471.

favour

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favour in some places, and with some persons, from whom it were much better for the state that they were banished*.

* This letter has no date. It seems to have been sent some time before the letter to King James, 24th August 1602.

L E T T E R XII.

Lord Henry Howard to King James.

IT is impossible for any other pen than that which the Prophet calleth *calamum scribæ velociter scribentis*, Most Excellent, Most Gracious, and Most Redoubted King James, to present any figure of humble thankfulness proportionable to the merit of your matchless mind, in accepting certain late advertisements, though dipped in sharp fauce, with a sweetness suitable to those true and humble affections that are born to you. But to speak truly,
it

it is neither usual nor almost possible to find any prince in these time-pleasing days, so moderately bounded, and so evenly poised in his affections, as to admit timely contradiction by respective offices, or otherwise affected than he that said in Esay, *Nolite aspicere nobis ea quæ recta sunt, loquimini placentia*, or than the King of Israel, that commanded the Prophet Micaiah out of his sight, *quod non prophetaret quod jucundum est, &c.* But herein your Majesty is not unfortunate, that you have light upon a Cecil and a Lord Henry Howard so suitable to your worthy mind, as they will strain all things, reveal all mysteries, and run upon all rocks, rather than discharge, by too great confidence, conceal by too much fear, or neglect, with over great facility, the least spark of fire in the fortune of so sweet a prince, or charge our own selves and conscience with the weight of any grievous after-coming accident, that might have been prevented in case it had been seasonably premonished, holding for

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ever stedfastly that protestation of St Paul, that *neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque virtutes, neque instantia, neque futura, neque fortitudo, altitudo, aut profundum, neque creatura alia nos separare poterit* from that affection which we have vowed, the promise which we have made, and the service which, next to the sovereign possessor, we have sworn to you.

Touching the great person *, which by circumstance is touched in the matter, we agree in judgment with your Majesty; for when we see that there is no other way to the greatness of her own estate, which her magnanimity desires, to the glory of her offspring, which her natural affection doth apprehend, to the security of her estate, which the weakness of her sex regards, than by taking courses fuitable and safe for your preservation, who are the base of all beatitude, how void of sense, dis-

* Queen Anne of Denmark.

cretion,

cretion, or humanity, might those be reckoned that would conceive a thought repugnant to so many certain grounds in the mind of this wise lady, that pursues her own ends by those means that are most suitable.

But since they are not to be counted skilful or judicious astronomers, that never give notice of the gathering of clouds before the storm do light; since labourers are not excused in forbearing to present the substance, though unpolished, with which the chiefest workmen use to build; since Pliny warneth Trajan, that those princes are ill served, *quibus gesta tantum, non gerenda, proposita, non probabilia prædicantur*, and whose ministers do only show the means *velandi cicatricem, sed non præveniendi vulnera*; your Majesty will admit the tenderness of our affection, in wishing with our strongest zeal, that the party, being in herself most gracious, religious, and wise, may be armed, advised, and fortified, against the practice and persua-

sion of *boutefeux*, that are industrious, insidious, and pestilent. If some of these have not dissembled by words and writings which are come to light, a violent desire to work upon advantage of displeased moods, purposing to insinuate by moderate degrees their own intention into the negligence and ignorance of sleeping thoughts that mean not ill; some feed foreign states with expectation of wonders to be wrought in Scotland out of discontented humours, which are invisible, in persons of great quality; if circumstances do concur to prove that courses are run covertly to distemper union, tho' perhaps without success; if battery be given oftentimes to places that are weak in sex, though strong in love; if the very countenance of access and conference give likelihood to false advertisements, divulged by this colour to unworthy ears, though intentions be clear; if the way to cure infirmities be first to open all obstructions in parts that are not unsound; if doctors, that, in bodies

dies natural so long as life doth last, want means of marking and discerning sensibly the state of every vital part, are authorised to divine *per symptomata*, which are oftentime significant, your Majesty may apprehend with what diligence we search, with what indifference we regard, and with what tenderness we advise those things which have oftentimes *externam mali speciem, quamvis intima sint solida* *.

The rule of judgment in the state wherein we live, doth make us measure objects of like reverence with like tenderness. Our office is to present the matter; your judgment must imprint the form; our duty to deliver, your wisdom to dispose; our diligence doth refer, your

* Certainly Lord Henry Howard was excellently qualified for dark correspondence and intrigue, for his sentiments and his language are a continual cypher. The reader has here his *words*; as to his *meaning*, in this very pompous sentence, it would seem that he purposes to tell King James, that his wife is a weak, intriguing, tattling woman, and one who ought to be watched over.

consideration must compare; we may imagine by such distances as oftentimes deceive, you must judge by demonstrations that are infallible: *Ejice hypocritam et exhibit cum eo jurgium, et cessabunt contumeliæ: Pestilente flagellato, sapiens erit sapientior.* It is safer to remove a block out of the way, than to maintain a watchman for the caution of well-meaning friends that they stumble not. To conclude, there can be no fear of the foundation, where your first care is either to blow up absolutely, or to displace all the pioneers. The very purpose of creating discoveries, of feeding passions, or following the shadows of their own imagination into the minds of persons that are bound to reverence no other fables, admit no double feasts, nor celebrate no other jubilees than are set out in your calendar, implies a vile affection in their own hearts, though the principal, as we presume, will make the best use of all humours for your good, convert all motives of suggestions to your support,

support, and gather out of weeds so much as is sufficient to store the golden hive of your expected happiness. Your Majesty shall receive * by Mr Bruce a full discourse of reasons moving Cecil and me, as well in judgment, as in tenderness, to awake your wisdom for the finding out of provisional supplies against all events or likelihoods, which is the safest course. If any thing were left unsignified, your Majesty we hope would graciously ascribe the cause thereof to discretion and caution, which warn honest men to be well advised, when the danger is not imminent, in advertising such things without demonstrations, which might sometimes do no less hurt by insinuation than by execution; and, which is more, cause harmless thoughts to conceive more upon challenge than they did intend in their own integrity. Whosoever loves your person, loves your quiet; and a thing impossible it is for any man to

* Alluding probably to the preceding letter.

love

love your quiet, that takes pleasure to possess your mind of stronger fears than the discreet care of your preservation, which sets all circumstance aside, doth drive us to. God can witness, that we know not any ready fashioned or formed plot ; for in that case it were expedient that all strings should break, and all impediments be set at liberty. At this present your Majesty's chief care must be, to bar, once for all, all conference, all confidence and intelligence between those whom you have cause to love, and others whom you have as great cause to hate ; to back those by authority, that press with eagerness to quench all fires of inward burning feuds within the body of your own estate ; to lay for packets passing many ways, and to have a watchful eye to leagues of love, beginning where in former times have been profusions of hostility. Cut off, as much as lies in you, compassion of such complaints as have a root in your own harm, though invisible to those that, out of weakness
of

of their judgment, are not able to distinguish as they ought between *miseri-cordia puniens*, and *crudelitas parcens*. Have an eye to France, and to the Trojan horses * that are sent from thence. Infuse one scruple at the least of some sharp ingredient into that whole mass of *manus Christi*, whereof you are compounded by the providence of God. Believe not every one that says, *Domine, Domine*. Measure the profession of convertites, rather by the motive that reclaims them, than the words which they deliver. Permit no setting up of any golden calf in Dan or Bethel, that may withdraw the minds of those, that only ought to worship you, to strange invocation. Discourage all that ought to be most inward with yourself from conference with Philistines; for the Apostle proves judiciously out of an ancient Greek poet, that *corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava*. The poisons are most desperate that work se-

* Meaning the French ambassador.

cretly and leifurely, and learn by Joseph, that whosoever is delighted with the conversation of idolatrous Egyptians that adore strange Gods, or lisp when they should fully pronounce Shibolet, which signifies *spicam grani*, not *lernam zizanii*, will at one time or other, without the mighty grace of God, swear *per salutem Pharaonis*, and forget the promise of that holy land which shall one day flow with milk and honey. Tax all temerities that dare commend for current what experience proves to be counterfeit. Bar taking of bias when the main is in. Consider advisedly the peril of that state, which by nourishing the seeds of faction in intestines, giveth encouragement to foreign hopes. Remove those meteors from all strength of illusion that are taken for bright shining suns, by those that stand and behold far off. Look into the scandal of a prince's government, if being freed from foreign fears by heavenly providence, he knows not how to root up the cockle which
springs

springs up at home. Conceal the mystery of English intelligence, that sinners may be caught in the snare which they set for the most innocent. Provoke not ill affections to desperate attempts, by too much neglecting the care of yourself; and upon the first example that you find of juggling, establish a terror to malignity. These are the means of preserving our clear crystal glass, from bruises or flaws by accident, which containeth the most precious elixir that in our age hath been extracted *arte*, or in any age can be matched by alchemy. It is true, that to every just and worthy mind, *sua conscientia est murus æneus*; but yet, Most Worthy and Renowned King James, keep in mind that *negligenti media finis excidit*, and *sapiens dominabitur astris*. Duty, honesty, and tenderneſs, causeth us to step with these pebble-stones in our feet, like the cranes that keep true watch when the vultures are upon their wings, lest we be surpris'd in sloth, and rather re-
 gard

gard *columnam ignis*, than *columnam nubis*, where so many ambuscades are opposite, but of the care we have to fortify the banks by which land-waters may break in to the drowning of the freshest and the fairest hopes, doth move us still to utter what we apprehend, leaving ever judgment and election to your own deep wisdom, which knows best how to work out your own security : Hereof your Majesty may be most certain, that, in dealing with a prince of your estate, expectation, and worth, we meddle with no Paracelsian receipts *, which must make their proof with the peril of the patient, but with such safe and certain potions, as carry their *probatum est* engraven deeply in the cover of the cup which containeth them ; therefore, according to the custom of the Common law, such pardons are of course where the mind is ever innocent.

* Yet in his style Lord Henry seems to have followed Paracelsus, surnamed *Bombastus*.

The name of the knight * shall be kept as secretly as other mysteries of greater weight than that; for if those things be not revealed to the surgeon that looks into the hearts when the life is gone, they shall, by the grace of Jesus, dissolve with the very hearts themselves *in cinerem*. Notwithstanding, to give satisfaction to your Majesty, touching the humours of the man, according to your request, duty bindeth us to let you know, that though he carry outwardly a form of honesty, yet there is not a more dishonest man in his own nature upon this earth, nor one that, for the gain of sixpence, would sooner betray his own father. But because this packet presseth dispatch, and the circumstances belonging to this person require length, we will defer a more large discourse till the next, which shall move you to judge of his quality

* See the letter to the Earl of Marr, 4th June 1602.

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by demonstration. It is sufficient in generality, at this present, to persuade reservedness, lest hereafter, by how much your affairs are of greater weight than private mens that have dealt with this same person, by so much your experience be more perilous and chargeable. Ambition causeth him, not conscience, nor true affection, to bite at the bait of shining hopes, and to embark with malecontents, according to the temper of his own pulse distempered ; for, missing places and preferments which he sought above his worth, he thought it a wise part, to seek more strings to his bow than one, lest that might chance to break : but we do assure your Majesty, that if to-morrow next he could vent his own wares at another market to his advantage, or buy better cheap, he would quickly turn his mart thitherward.

The letters written by your Majesty to 40 and 50 *, have wrought their

* I cannot discover what persons are meant by the cyphers 40 and 50.

effects,

effects, according to their wishes and desires that humbly advised you. 50 was no less delighted with that cordial, than if he had been possessed of America; and no man [can] blame the man, for he hath most to hazard; and having carried himself very strangely toward you and yours in former times, is glad of a *quietus est*, which may secure him and the state which he may leave after him. He promiseth to bind that favour more assuredly by future deserts; and so I think he will, so long as he is guided by that spirit that in his present fear and future ticklishness is predominant; and therefore it is not ill handled, that your own wisdom should reflect upon yourself; and that, as the philosopher doth counsel, *fructus officii* should be *ipsum officium*. It was not possible for any pen to hit more precisely than yours hath done, both the sense, literal and anagogical, of that which we did persuade, in setting down the points of those letters. It remains, that we solicit and expect as

prosperous effects as expectations are probable, *ut tandem veniamus in urbem.*

Your Majesty did very judiciously observe, upon the Queen's using of those words, *Præterierunt dies illi*, that they might have been as aptly retorted upon others, as applied to you in *ἀδιαφορίᾳ*; but touching your own particular, our blessed Lord be glorified, it is very true, that the days of oppression and vexation from hence are happily overblown. For as we read in the sonnets of Solomon, *Tempestas abiit, imber recessit, audita est vox turturis in terra nostra.* The reason of which change, if you require, we can give no other than that of the prophet, *Hoc est opus Domini, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.* We only beseech your Majesty, to be careful, that since the fretting ocean eateth as much into one land as it loseth in another, that your circumspection may not abate at home, as your protection doth augment abroad. For many worthy vessels, by too great negligence,
have

have been put in hazard in their own safe-seeming harbours; and Troy itself was lost upon a holiday. The supposition, or rather fiction, of so great favours used toward the Master of Gray's booby *, at his being here, show the father's invention, who now, in his latter time, despairing of employment in his wonted occupation, resolves perhaps to write comedies. These figures proceed from caution, to raise his credit there by shadows of this place, as *opaca corpora*, wanting glory in themselves, delight to shine with beams borrowed from imagination. But God hath strangely guided your Majesty, by more certain ways, without false lights. Poetry opposing against demonstrations is out of countenance, *et nullas spes habet Troja, si tales habet*. This gross booby never came in the sight of Queen Elifabeth, nor of Cecil neither, more than once; every thing that happened

* Andrew eighth Lord Gray; *Douglas's Peerage*.

hath been fully advertised. This *once* also should have been cut off also, if respects to cover other things did not enforce a kind of formality.

But of this you may be sure, that as a pension of 400 crowns is far above the pride wherein Gray would have his son shine, like another Astyanax, and leaves no remnant for the baskets, after once the fishes and barley-loaves are eaten, so shall the father henceforth neither have pension nor donative, the Queen herself being made the motive of this restraint, if ever it come to points, both upon increase of burdens in the state, and upon unkindness, which she shall seem to take, that he would have drawn Cecil into conflict with you, and correspondence for his own particular, which she holds not to be safe for her any way. The best course is to catch the sinner in his own snare, *et jugulare Achitophellem suo gladio.*

It is advertised to Cecil, that H. Leigh, at his being here, did either bring

a letter or a message from your Majesty to Suffex; which we cannot believe, your Majesty doth know the man so well, and hath so well tasted his affections in former levities. One pitying his estate not long ago, to a devoted friend of yours, with great fear that he would sink suddenly, was willed to be of good cheer, for that he had so much cork in his head, as that he should sink was impossible. I know not how, but in these days, as in former times, fools are not fortunate. Your Majesty hath had experience in Lincoln's business, and are like enough to find it sooner by the slightest traffic with this giddy fellow, who by how much he is less fearful than the other, by so much he is more dangerous, both being mad equally. The other matter was excused by the wit of Cecil, taking advantage by the party's base and servile avarice, to divert suspicion to contempt; but if any more of these things come to light, the Queen will think herself unsafe in your affection, and

and imagine that you work upon the weakest instruments to serve the turn, when you find opportunity. This voyage of H. Leigh's, begun with greater passion than wit or grounds, hath raised strange clouds in this climate, in respect whereof both Cecil and I do humbly crave, that he may be left no more to the liberty of his own election, which can neither be guided by advice, nor bounded by hazard: The only hope, as I think, which he hath under heaven, is in yourself alone; and therefore, under pain of your irreconcilable rejection, there is no way to temper him.

Cecil is infinitely glad, that Mountjoy and Southampton are so strange to the mystery, as by this appears, and that all was not true which was advertised. He desireth me to write, that in no one thing he can acknowledge your respect and grace, so much as in casting clouds over their curiosity. For Mountjoy, out of observation, hath begun to found, but without satisfaction, to the point of his eagerness. He
knows

knows it to be very true, as Mr Bruce writes, that they would both be glad, that he would come into the circle, though not so much, as he hath fundry motives to believe, out of desire to set forward the main, which may be done without their privity, as to labour their own private ends upon advantages. He hath saved the life of the one, out of respect to his affection to King James, though it were neither ancient nor very meritorious : He hath preserved the reputation and credit of the other for the same respect, though his adventure herein was not small. The rest must be wrought out with opportunity and time ; for the Queen hath passions, against which whosoever struggles above the measure and proportion of state, shall be reputed a participant. His care is chiefly to your Majesty ; and then, out of a kind affection to them, to take his best times and advantages for working their desires, but not according to the measures of their desires, nor upon their
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press out of advantage, further than he shall find reason out of judgment and security, holding ever in mind steadfastly that counsel of the Holy Ghost, *Nes des extraneo potestatem animæ tuæ, ne ingrediatur in virtute tua, et confundaris.* Your Majesty's rare virtue, wisdom, secrecy, and constancy, first warranted by those whom he durst credit, and after tasted from yourself, have moved him to give into adventures, which neither this world, nor any other world than eternity, can make him do, so long as he is covered from these whose states, though safe, yet not fully satisfied, may press upon advantage by necessity, his plough shall walk as well to sow corn as to pluck up weeds; but from the time that either of these shall be able, out of knowledge, to conclude him to be your friend, he shall for ever afterwards prove a dumb oracle. It may be, that either one or both may, before it be long, for the founding of this passage, crave your letter, for their satisfaction
in

in some degree; but whether the demand be great or small, avoid the motive as Charybdis; for one leak, upon the like occasion, might hazard as fair a vessel under fail as ever the winds blew upon.

I have sent your Majesty, by Cecil's permission, the copy of some words contained in the latter end of Nicolson's dispatch, which require a *paraphrasis*, with some advertisements. First, Cecil doth humbly beseech your Majesty, to be very well advised in those speeches which you use of him in favourable sort to the pigeon; for hereof you may assure yourself, that so soon as he may find the least advantage whereupon to conclude a confidence in your mind toward Cecil, he will grow to conclude, that matter of more moment passeth by the packet, than Bouillon or Rohan is acquainted with. It is mought for your Majesty to keep this bounder, that you hold Cecil free from faction or combination with any foreign state, which makes you apprehend, that so
worthy

worthy and true a servant to his own mistress, will one day prove an honest man to you; but of any present inclination, or affection in the least degree, be careful not to give any glimpse: for though the freedom of your kindness seek a vent *ex cordis abundantia*, yet it must be suppressed with respect and judgment, till time serve more seasonably. This clause hath caused Cecil by this dispatch to write to the person so reservedly and dryly of your Majesty, as he may see that there is small cause for him out of your words of favour to take hold of an affection; for either my skill faileth me, or this was a way to search the root of his respect to you, that he might raise his own conceits, according to that height which he should find; and though the man be shallow, yet remember, that he is the creature of Bowes, whose affections hold not in harmony. Your Majesty, by comparing what he writes in the first proposition, of your having a strange intelligence from this place, with that which
he

he writes of your Majesty's affection to Cecil, whether, as very a fool as he is, he do not hunt after mysteries, which must be thought upon, and cannot be better helped, than by your casting out sometime words of suspicion, upon intelligence, in such measure as may rather show, that you do rather suspect his love than any way condemn him of unworthiness. It is not an apology of his integrity to the Queen, that could save Cecil from suspicion, if Nicolson might once find grounds of truth, and demonstration in deed, to conclude that his affections were settled. These things required a touch; because they come near to the quick. Other matters we commend to your own grave judgment, which knows best how to make use of them.

Your Majesty perceives with what affection my pen is still carried beyond my prefixed purpose, when I begin to write; but to temper love, is to make fresh the water of the sea, and to moderate the tenderness of affection, in those

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things

things which concern your matchless person, and your fairest hopes, is a work of Hercules.

I must humbly beseech your Majesty, that this extract out of the letters of Nicolson may be sent back, for the satisfaction of your worthy Cecil, who loves with frankness to join security, and, as near as he can, to provide, not only against intentions, but against accidents. It may be, that your Majesty may hear thereof ere it be long, that it is good for you to be wary unto whose charge or custody you commit your cabinet. I speak not in respect of ourselves, whose letters, being of that weight that they are, we doubt not but your Majesty doth burn presently; but there are of second form that have been hazarded, whereof, so far as was possible, I gave caution.

Thus praying on my knees for the preservation of your Royal Majesty, as the apple of the eternal eye, not only from all harm which is peremptory, but from all signs and tokens of harm
which

which threaten further off, I humbly take my leave, and most affectionately kiss your gracious and sacred hands, resting ever more yours than it is possible for you to conceive or imagine.

HENRY HOWARD.

Oatlands, this 24th of August, [1602.]

An abstract of some points out of Nicolson's last letter to Cecil.

“ I do understand, by very credible
 “ and secret means, that the King is
 “ made believe, that the Queen doth yet
 “ suspect him to have dealing with
 “ Spain, and that you are the man that
 “ holds her in this belief; and that some
 “ also do press for employment, upon
 “ the colour of that subject to clear it;
 “ but I hope they that would move the
 “ King to think thus of you, shall lose
 “ their labours.

“ The King, in his speech to me,
 “ thinks, or seems to think, that the
 “ secretary is very honest and faithful to
 “ the Queen his mistress; but yet ho-

“ nest and friendly also to him ; but yet
 “ Nicolson was very lately named a Ce-
 “ cilian by the other side, and regret-
 “ ing words were used to this effect,
 “ that none were now of credit but the
 “ secretary, and all are become Ceci-
 “ lians.

“ Hereof Nicolson is very credibly in-
 “ formed ; and therefore beseecheth the
 “ secretary, in respect of the trust com-
 “ mitted to him, that it may be kept
 “ secret ; for so at this time chiefly it is
 “ expedient ; because the King hath of
 “ late very strange intelligence : and I
 “ assure you, some things are let fall
 “ from some near to himself, which I
 “ know not a month after : but if you
 “ will set instruments in hand, it will
 “ soon be found who are inward here,
 “ but yet serve his turn there.

“ The manner of his speech of you,
 “ knowing what I know of your incli-
 “ nation, makes me think, that some,
 “ to get themselves credit here, abuse
 “ your name, and coin false intelli-
 “ gence : For surely the King seems to
 “ speak

“ speak as he thinks, if I be not decei-
 “ ved in his countenance. He told me
 “ further, that because it would not
 “ be good for you to be known to
 “ think well of him, he did use to an-
 “ swer all questions that concerned
 “ you, as if he expected little good of
 “ you, though he thought otherwise;
 “ and withal, that he thought you so
 “ honest, as the Queen was happy in
 “ being served by you.

“ Some near about our mistress, as
 “ I understand of certainty, had secret
 “ conference with the Duke at his be-
 “ ing there, and some of your friends,
 “ which makes me much to marvel.
 “ The Duke is not esteemed according
 “ to his desert, as he thinks, for some
 “ service he did there, which his friends
 “ think the King hath not enough ac-
 “ knowledged. It were strange, that the
 “ world should be so false, if they say
 “ true; for in knowledge, they are very
 “ inward with you, that practised with
 “ the Duke at his being there. But I
 “ dare name no body, till they be na-

“ med to me, and you give me leave to
 “ speak freely. For sometime I think
 “ that the Duke devised this to get a
 “ better welcome.

“ The King hath of late received no-
 “ tice of the Queen’s dealing with one
 “ of Gowrie’s sisters, and others whom
 “ he accounts his enemies. It caused a
 “ dryness for a while, and made some
 “ afraid of being called to a further
 “ reckoning ; but the matter is so well
 “ handled, as all is very well again,
 “ and the King well satisfied : But now
 “ the court and town is full of Gowrie’s
 “ brother’s protection among you, tho’
 “ you maintain him not.

“ You will pardon what I write ; be-
 “ cause it is my duty, coming from such
 “ persons ; but I do believe that I shall
 “ have shortly somewhat more of these
 “ things in particular.”

These are the words of the Pigeon,
 which I doubt not but your Majesty
 will better understand ; to whose wif-
 dom we commend the causes, and the
 ticket

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ticket to your care, only advising you with all humbleness, to mark how fools do sometime glean in following the steps of labourers, though they labour not.

L E T T E R XIII.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.*

DEAR Mr Bruce, I did peruse your piece of paper with such advisement and deliberation as in a matter of this weight is requisite. I found, both by your counsel, and by the scope of King James's letter to myself, what course it was convenient to hold in tempering advertisements; for to a

* Prefixed to this letter there is a note of the following tenor. " Noble Earl of Marr, Let me
" intreat you to deliver this paper with your
" own hand to Mr E. Bruce; only the rest is
" visible."

mind

mind obstructed against demonstrations of inconvenience, discovery of effects and instruments would rather breed their peril, than prevention of practices.

You shall find reasons by this which I send, of as great caution as our letters did persuade; but particulars must sleep till they be awaked with more light, if that which we know already be not sufficient to make true friends timorous.

The wisdom of the Holy Ghost prescribeth milk for those whose stomachs are over weak for stronger food; the same course I take in this course, arming King James by precaution against things in generality, which by particularity would be more speedy quickened. If peril were at hand, or any match made to our knowledge, it were more than time to speak without lisping *Sibboleth*; but since things were but in their preparation, and spleen is only manifested, which is too much, we thought good to reveal the grounds, without harping upon any other strings
than

than those whose discord hath before this dissolved harmony. A discreet comment upon this text may do much good, though some shadows must be cast to conceal eye-fores that cause scrupulosity. God hath his ends in these things, and I hope to the best, to whose heavenly and eternal providence I daily on my knees commend the preservation of this worthy King, whose perfections, in comparison of others, make honest men by so much more tender, as they find him, out of the sweetness of his own nature, to be more confident.

If matters stop here, you shall hear no more, because it were a sin to nourish scruples in so calm a mind without just cause; and besides it may be, that the challenge of some errors maketh some more wary, that are not more kind; and the reconcilment of our worthy Earl of Marr to Queen Anne may perhaps do good; but if I find progression in preparation, though my life were lost for it, I will speak freely, and hold myself as a martyr in
discharging

discharging conscience, where occasions are imminent. If you know your Henry Howard and Cecil in their integrity, you will believe that they know King James's affection to Queen Anne, and therefore rather forbear too long, than trust too suddenly; for by your aim at our discretion, you must guess at the motives of prevention, and here a stop till we see further. Excuse that which hath been said, and believe that we write modestly. But by whatsoever is religious in heaven or upon earth, I do conjure both you and the Earl of Marr, that this paper never be seen to other than yourselves, for I write it without commission, and therefore beware of taking notice in the next dispatch of this particular. One clause in your piece of paper by the last, was a let why I durst not open it to Cecil; for therein you did evidently demonstrate, that a packet of yours is miscarried; which if Cecil had seen, I protest to God all the course of convey and intelligence had been ruined for ever.

ever. I made as discreet use of your counsel as I could to Cecil, out of my own head, as you may perceive by fitting answers to those points; but the text of your abstract I durst not deliver, for this reason, which is peremptory. It was the will of God that he should deliver me the packet even as he was riding forth; for if, according to the custom, it had come to opening in his own sight, he must have seen that misadventure of the packet wherein you sent thanks, after which upon the multiplicity of doubts his mind would never have been at rest, nor he would have eaten or slept quietly; for nothing makes him confident, but experience of secret trust, and security of intelligence.

Dear Mr Bruce, I will now deliver my own opinion, which is, That no packet is miscarried; for we received answer of other things that went with the ring by the next dispatch, but no word of that; which makes me think, that your purpose being wholly bent to give thanks, you do persuade yourself
that

that it was done; and yet, among so many matters of importance, it is easy to omit a compliment, howsoever the first intention or impression possessed the memory. Again, it could not be kept back, but for discovery, either to the state, or to a mind that is curious. To the state we know, that nothing is come to light, and believe also, that in private nothing is discovered; because as one morsel draws on another, when an appetite is quick, so the breaking up of this packet, being of less moment in respect it came from you, should have moved the same party to watch rather for those that come from us, because they are of more advantage for adventurers, which the safety of dispatches proves that they have not done hitherto. Nicolson writes to Cecil, that he hath been dealt withal in a suspicious manner by one, as if a packet sent in June had not gone safe, and thereupon doth so strongly protest, that all came safely from his hand, as I do rather conceive that you forgot

forgot a trifling circumstance, than that a main packet should miscarry.

It remains, Dear Mr Bruce, that first you write no word in answer to all these doubts and answers by the next, which Cecil may see, and thereupon unjustly suspect juggling. But, first, examine your own thoughts, and then determine to give me light of the truth by this circumstance, that in setting down your name in the next by this figure 8, if you find the convey clear, and my conjecture safe, let the figure be set down with two pricks on either side, in this manner · 8 ·. But if you do rather think that undoubtedly such a packet was sent hither with thanks for the token, which never came to our hand, do then, I pray you, write the figure thus 8 without any pricks; for it is a point of greater moment than any that hath happened since the beginning of the contract, and can miscarry no where but in Cary's * hand, which

* Sir John Cary Governor of Berwick.

we fear not, he living in that awe which he now doth of those that are omnipotent, and having more reason to deserve their love by ordinary dispatch, which hath a constant course, than to hazard their displeasure upon any part presumptuous, without a stronger motive than he can have any, unless it were revealed; and besides, as I said before, either the Queen should have had notice of this part before, or Cecil, because the matters are of too great moment to be reserved or tempered by the discretion of a giddy fellow. And as I said upon this pregnant motive, he would have intercepted the dispatches that were sent from hence for answer unto those, and with plainer marks of discovery, as well of persons as of matters; *quod non prestitit*, which one reason implies security. But hence forward, in the name of God, set down the days and dates of what you receive, and send, and so will we, and thereby we shall be sure to receive good accounts and keep true reckonings.

reckonings. In any wise be wary what you write of these things in your next dispatch, and imagine that Cecil is present at the breaking up, as he is commonly.

The putting of that Hume in trust with the packets from Sir Robert Cary *, doth not much please Cecil nor me, in respect of his link with the treasurer ; but I have no warrant to speak of it by this, and therefore touch it not till you hear of us. He that should be trusted with a secret of this nature, must not only be the safest in that place, but the choice man above any. Be ever happy, Dear Mr Bruce, and Earl of Marr, as you are worthy. Oatlands, the 27th August, [1602.].

Certain advertisements arriving here out of Scotland, Dear Mr Bruce, after the folding up of the packet, it was thought convenient for good respects to touch some particulars which may give satisfaction in scruples very fit to

* Afterwards Earl of Monmouth.

be considered. I remember that by your last it was advertised, that King James finding the Master of Gray to have tampered in your late court-difcords, either had sent or meant to send with expedition, to prohibit his access to either of their Majesties, *ut, sublata causa, simul tollantur effectus, &c.* At this present Cecil is assured by a person credible, and a courtier, that not only the Master of Gray hath been an industrious instrument to strengthen love between the Princes, but beside, that the King, being to ride into the west to hunt about the 18th of August, did, out of his own free election, appoint the Master of Gray to be one of those that, in his absence, should attend the Queen's Majesty; *ex contrariis non fit illatio*, as the Civilians affirm, *multo minus confirmatur veritas*, which we thought good to advertise, that you might *tollere obicem*, and return certainty. Again, Cecil and I require you to inquire humbly, but seriously, of King James, whether at sundry times

Kildare

Kildare have not written three fundry letters containing these points specified.

The *first* letter, upon acknowledgment of the honour which King James did her in former times, maketh free profession of respect to him, requiring also from the King a cypher for the greater security; which King James did refuse, as not acquainted nor accustomed with that kind of intelligence; whereupon Dickinson was brought in to supply these wants, and the cypher was eftsoones fettled between her and Sir Thomas Ereskine, where it doth still continue. This letter was written in the time of Essex, and the first that is supposed to be sent from her.

The *second*, written in the time of Essex also, but since his return out of Ireland, contains an offer of this lady's uttermost endeavour and best credit, (which she maketh to be very great), in undertaking the disgrace of Cecil and Raleigh with the Queen; and the letter was so judiciously and discreetly

S 3 written,

written, as the party which advertiseth is fully of the mind, that she was inspired and assisted by a better wit than her own, though he do not precisely name any man, but leave the trial to such guesses and conjectures as Cecil out of his judgment in this place may conceive more probably.

In the *third*, one writes, that Kildare advised King James to beware of Cecil and of the Master of Gray as his great enemies. She hath written once again since that, as the party writes, and about the 6th of July last received answer from his Majesty. It is further advertised, that the Duke of Lennox hath been very dainty in presenting his letters from hence to King James, because they were not written so much to his advantage as he looked for.

This dispatch doth stay for this brief letter, therefore I can say no more, but only again desire you earnestly to draw from King James the truth of these particulars, whether they be clear or counterfeit, for thereby Cecil shall bet-
ter

ter judge of the plainness of the party that pretends to mean honestly.

Thus once again wishing to you, and those whom you honour, as to my soul, and desiring you to mark by these discoveries what hazards men run that advertise matters of this quality, if they be not very justly, secretly, and sincerely dealt withal, I end, and ever rest,

Yours most affectionately,
and constantly,

HENRY HOWARD.

Because the keeping of papers may be subject to accidents, sudden, violent, and desperate, the safest course is to send back the manuscripts; and if your return cannot be speedy, at the least to slice them so when you have made extraction of points for memory against the first occasion to write, as no sense can possibly be made of the carcases; but if to make surest work you send the very manuscripts themselves, the matter is more out of jeopardy. You know, Dear Mr Bruce, that I am no
coward

coward in these courses of adventure *, nor was wont to care for the manuscripts after they were once put into the hands to which I directed them ; but now that the caution of another, whom, for the service of his Majesty, whom I value far above myself, is by confidence inserted into my care, there is greater cause for me, by his own request, and my own provisional respect, to regard the course more narrowly.

God grant it be true which is advertised, that Gray hath made a league between King James and Queen Anne infrangible ; for, assure yourself, no person under heaven shall be so glad of it as Cecil and I, who do as much hate those that would put their hand between bark and tree without just cause of fear, as those that would forbear their own father that had any ill affection, direct or indirect, to his Majesty.

* It is believed that he assisted in carrying on the correspondence between King James and Essex.

You

L E T T E R XIV. 213

You must be as wary of this secret, touching the discovery of Kildare, as if it were of the highest point ; for the least flaw, as well as the deepest wound, causeth *solutionem continui*.

Once again, Dear Mr Bruce, adieu, and vouchsafe by the next from King James an answer of all particulars. In haste. This 27th of August, [1602].

L E T T E R XIV.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.

YOU may call to mind, Dear Mr Bruce, that in the last dispatches Cecil and I were very earnest with you to be careful, that no letter nor advertisement from any friend in this place to King James, should be left in the hands of any servant of his, with an opinion of safe custody ; nor, which is more, not *in rerum natura*, if it were possible.

possible. Believe our judgments and integrities so far, both in this and other concerns of like moment, as to think that this caveat was not impertinently nor idly put in ; for as we are not yet fully secure of a mischief, imminent by some strange practice in this kind, so will we faithfully assure you, that if an escape be made, it is a lucky one ; for if greater art and expedition had not been used to avoid a counterbuff, than almost was possible at so streight a pinch, the King had visibly seen the fapping of one of the surest ground-works that in this place hath been laid for him. As our affections are strong, so shall you find that our courses are so tempered with sound discretion, as we neither speak all, nor sometime so much as others would speak upon less occasion. But ever keep in mind these verses, which are not so elegant as sententious :

*Vis sapiens fieri, sex serva quæ tibi
mando,*

*Quid loquere, et ubi, de quo, cui, quo-
modo, quando.*

The

The value of that precious and inestimable elixir, which is in a sort commended to our faith and love, keepeth us from sleeping when many are too much awake, and bindeth love and virtue with an ever-watching care to keep that crystal-glass from knocks or bruises, which contains a treasure of more worth to us than all the world, next to our sovereign, since neither art nor industry can make crystal malleable, though that feat, some write, were tendered, though ill rewarded, by one of the Roman Emperors. In the name of God observe those courses of prevention and caution which you set down in your last judicious discourse; for though we cannot tell you of any plot in readiness which might require a post; yet by the chattering of some birds, and by the cries of others, we give a guess at foul weather. They that can *dijudicare faciem cæli*, as our Saviour hath set down, may *dijudicare signa temporum*. All minds are not of one mixture, nor all voices of one tune,
that

that begin with *placebo*, and conclude with *de profundis*; and God forbid that no sign should advertise kind affections to be well advised, beside the sign of Jonas *in ventre ceti*, or of *Filius hominis in corde terræ*; *quia plus quam Jonas hic est*. Where no peril is, *abundans cautela non nocet*, but proves providence: where peril is, the greatest care is not sufficient, but requires revelation. Our humble request is, that neither innocent affections be charged with the purposes of those that have a further drift, nor they that live in leprous places cleared, *si macula non steterit*, nor any caution omitted that, *in omnem eventum*, may cause security. *Hoc opus, hic labor*.

Dear Mr Bruce, as we have often heretofore been humble suitors to his Majesty, so are we now more earnest than ever, that Queen Anne may never hear the names of Cecil and Lord Henry Howard so much as founded with any kind affection or inclination from the mouths of King James, or any of his elect;

lect; for though we would be loth to harbour in our minds the least suspicion of her mislike, or to imagine that she would not very much rejoice to hear that he were served and affected by persons of no worse quality, considering how much the greatness both of her own estate, and of her offspring, stands upon the love and trust of faithful ministers, and many bodies kindle by reflection, which move not *motu proprio*; yet since deep mysteries may be as well revealed by excess of joy, which we do rather apprehend, as by vexation of heart, since all the persons with whom Queen Anne doth confidently confer, are neither King James, the Earl of Marr, nor you; since the friends of King James may be taken at the bound with less labour than at the volée, and put into hazard when the chace is at the wall; last of all, since it is [not] improbable, that the courses which would please Queen Anne well enough, if they were managed by her, or those that depend on her, will notwithstanding dis-

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please

please or please less, so long as she suspects some to be dealers (as they must ever be while this current runs) whom she milikes, the safest course is, to contract us to the service of his Majesty with the ring of Gyges, that may cause us to walk ever invisible.

For caution, it is enough that hath been said already, in whatsoever corner the wind do sit: for prevention, I doubt not but you will be well advised in so great a cause, and therefore assure yourself, that our hearts are eased infinitely, by putting over this tough and churlish drug, which could neither be retained without sickness, nor devided without perplexity. Dear Mr Bruce, let us intreat you, that his Majesty may confidently apprehend, that as we fear not any thing but weakness, mildness, and over great credulity in that worthy prince, upon whom the poison of infected humours seeks by illusion and cozenage to work, so when his Majesty, by sweetness, wisdom, and premonition, shall fortify that part, and dis-
plant

plant both great and small shot that daily batters it, I doubt not but all things will succeed happily ; and, in the mean time, you will witness both with Cecil and me, that in discharge of duty and affection, we may very truly and ever say, *Liberavimus animas nostras*, &c. I do remember, that in our late unlucky tragedies, many of Essex's friends were willing, that he should rather break his neck by desperate attempts fuitable to their own humours, than be saved and redeemed by the faith and industry of Cecil, who, of all men living, in case he had found *subjectum bene dispositum*, would have dealt best with, and perfected the work of his deliverance *. God grant, that Queen Anne be not haunted at this instant with spirits of like quality, which cannot be contained within the circle of any other character than the King's royal prerogative. But it were better, that such

* Here is an assertion opposed to the general current of history.

spirits were in their hell, than she should give ear to them.

To ease your eye-sight as much as lies in me, of idle repetition and pleonasm, I will refer you to my letter written to his Majesty, concerning the Knight, where you shall find all circumstances satisfied touching the desire you had to understand his quality; for so base a man, and speaking in so foul a name, it is sufficient, that King James hath, out of his native goodness, assured him of grace. *There* let him make a pause; for that harbour was never safe for small vessels, but *statio malefida carinis*, much less to be put in trust *cum classe regia*. King James hath expressed his judicious conceit, in suspending the Master of Gray from both presences; for I protest to God, I have not more wondered at any thing, than his late restitution to grace, considering how plainly and particularly the state of his credit in this place was known to King James before, and with all the sleightness of his quick fingering. The
chiefest

chiefest motive was to colour, as we judge, the mystery of intelligence, which being but a circumstance, must give way to substance upon discovery. Touching the proportion of benevolence, assure his Majesty, that the course shall be kept which was set down, and shadows shall be cast, rather by giving meat and drink to the growtheaded boy *, than any waste allowed to the father for pursuit of practices. For Cecil resolves not only to shut up his own purse, but the Queen's also, from contributions to giddiness; for *præterierunt dies illi; successuri meliores.*

Cecil and I are very glad, that the Laird of Weemes † had no better warrant for

* The Master of Gray's son is here meant.

† Sir James Colvill of Easter Weemes, served with reputation in the armies of Henry IV. of France. He appears to have been a busy man at this period, when every one was bustling and plotting, though often to little effect. There is extant in the Advocate's Library, A. 1. 34. No.

for his traffick with this busy body. The man is not honest, nor was drawn to this discovery of Mowbray's * treason by love to the King, but merely upon spleen and malice to the party upon the fractions of old amity. In this point

24. a letter from him to Mr Edward Bruce, dated Calais, 1st January, O. S. [1603.], as appears from mention being made in it of the Duke of Savoy's attempt on Geneva; wherein he says, " It greifis mekil in my passing
 " throuche Ingland, the los he hes for lack of
 " sum resident honest man, in whom hartlie his
 " Majestie nicht confyd, and sik as interly love
 " him, nicht affur themselfis: For to be plain,
 " I dout utheris, for causis I vil not vret. I
 " pray the Lord grant him that grace, that he
 " may faveur them quha lovis him above al. I
 " dout not bot or now ze have refavit my letter
 " from Londoun, desyring earnestly to know the
 " succes of that maiter aganis his Majestie. I
 " houp vithe the grace of God to discover mair
 " in that nor his Majestie hes zit hard, as also in
 " fundry other practices agains him." In 1604 he was created a Peer, by the style of *Lord Colvill of Culrofs*.

* Francis Mowbray, son of the Laird of Barnboughe. See *Spottiswoode's History*, p. 471.

we will say no more, but only wish, for the good of the King's service, that he neither have encouragement to come, nor entertainment though he should chance to come ; which I do not think will happen, because Cecil's angels have him in charge * for the working out of more stuff if it be possible, and his pension seasons him in the giddiness of his natural and habitual uncertainties.

From Francis Mowbray Cecil did never hear word since the last which was advertised, which makes him to wonder both at the pause and at the motive that may cause it after so large promises. Cecil will observe the King's direction, as well in mining by invention and subornation into his ends, as by continuing the pension, though he have very ill deserved it. He doth concur with the judgement of King James touching the peril that may

* In this expression, which is somewhat profane, it is plain that the *golden angels* of Cecil are intended.

grow

grow by driving him into despair for want of provender, before the close decks be discovered. You may in like sort assure King James, that Cecil will take no extraordinary course with him about King James's particular, till he take him with more meat in his mouth, and the matter be so pregnant, as negatives would be found both ridiculous and impudent.

Touching Hamilton, you received light sufficient by that which was advertised before ; whatsoever comes in by addition to that, is alchymy ; notwithstanding Cecil and I do infinitely desire to know the particulars which both Hamilton and Percy bring in letter or in credit ; for experience hath taught both you and us, how safe an trust and freedom is in both hands ; and therefore by particularities we shall discern the drift of all inventions and purposes : For Northumberland runs still so rankly upon the bias of Raleigh and his combination, as it is more than probable, that under the colour of inward trust
to

to Percy, he will add to the King's text some periphrases, as he did the last time he sent thither, and either write or send more than he imparts to Cecil, according to the legerdemain of his old juggling. Upon knowledge of all points we shall [be] able to give a likely guess to what end he sets up his figure.

Cecil deals by this dispatch with the pigeon * to forbear to meddle henceforth with ——— for I cannot blame a man that deals in matters of that moment, though he be unwilling to acquaint so base a person with so deep a mystery. We fear that you have dealt too gently with Dethick: for never did we hear of so sleeveless an excuse of so strange a tragedy, no likelihood at all appearing to our judgement, by which any one word that he voucheth for himself should be justified. Were he now with us as he is with you, we should teach him which way *judicare* came in-

* He means Nicolson, agent in Scotland for Queen Elisabeth.

to the creed. For I protest to God, when I compare the manner of your proceedings there with the nature of your nation, and the diversity of motives that are either raised, or of themselves arise, and see the King still safe, I cry out with Chrysostom, *O miraculum!* But it is not strange, that *qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi, in protectione Dei cæli commorabitur.*

It is now high time to ease both you and myself with a short conclusion of so large perplexed premises; wherefore, Dear Mr Bruce, wishing to you, as to my own soul, and ever presuming of your favour in procuring dispensation to pure adventurous unspotted faith, I take my leave, and ever rest, as you shall ever find, yours most affectionately to be commanded,

HENRY HOWARD *.

I am so weary, as I can neither point it nor read it over; therefore you must forgive errors.

* Probably written soon after that of the 27th August 1602.

L E T -

L E T T E R XV.

Lord Henry Howard to the Earl of Marr.

I Have so fully touched all points, Most Noble, Dear and Worthy Earl of Marr, mentioned in your last dispatch, in those letters which by this I send to King James and Mr Edward Bruce, as it shall be neither needful nor convenient by idle repetitions to clog your stomach with coleworts twice sodden. This favour I do only require of your worthy self, that you will second the King's gracious and sweet disposition, in applying all advices to the same respective, humble, and careful ends to which they are addressed in our affection. For every prince has not his property in making the best use, for his own satisfaction and preservation, out of counsels commanded without colours. For death itself, I protest, shall never
make

make me shadow any danger that may endanger him, after whom, I hope, there shall be ever propagation and interest, but no longer joy and comfort to true labourers. His method may be as easy to construction, as inclinable to demonstrate truth; and that which appeareth unto us *sub nube*, may be made more evident to him using prudent consideration and plain comparison: to both which we humbly submit the scope both of our addresses and advertisements; for this is the right course *vere et ingenue liberandi animam meam*. I joy to find the mind of King James so secured touching doubts, and assure myself that confidence will be the greatest encouragement to constancy, wishing from my soul, that they which would cast lots upon that seamless coat, might share in all unhappiness.

In this place we wax every day so found and resolute in all things that concern the preservation of inestimable King James, and the furtherance of his
affairs,

affairs, as it were not absurd to wish, that in generality things were but in the same security with you that they are with us ; for I so dare assure you all hopes would succeed happily. Blame us not therefore if we seek to remove all rubs out of the alley, be they great or small ; which though they do not lose the game, yet hinder those that are true mates, and of our side, from handling.

In this place all is quiet, and hath ever been without disturbance, since that Cobham by sickness, and Raleigh by directions, were absent from court : for though Northumberland, to maintain life in the party, were directed by them to attend the progress, yet his head is so shallow, and his friends are so few, as he was not able to make good the first point of their project, which was to give intelligence, much less to carry the sovereign. Being weary of ill lodgings, in respect of his patched body, he made a sudden retreat, and now means to go down to visit his

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Damon

Damon Raleigh, who is come from his stand into Dorsetshire, which hath angered the Queen exceedingly, because he did it without premonition of his purpose for fear of a countermand: so gracious doth his own conscience hold him at this instant with her Majesty.

Here was in court a great discouragement among the wiser and better sort, upon the sudden report of Sir Francis Vere's being hurt in the face *, and so upward toward the head, as was thought to death. Northumberland, on the other side, began to work for that employment, and my Lord Grey for the Brille; but Charon † doth infallibly advertise his being out of peril of life, which in affections of divers tempers, hath caused passions of divers qualities. Though the worst had happened, I dare assure your Lordship, that the state being thoroughly acquainted

* Near Grave in August 1602; *Winwood*, vol. 1. p. 433.

† Agent at London for the States of the United Provinces.

with

with his debility in many kinds, and his giddiness in the generality, resolves to marshal him where, though he do no good, yet he shall do less hurt than in that government. I think some of the best would be as glad with a good errand to send him out of the way, as the apostles did the clamorous beggar with a *dimitte eum quia clamat post nos*, but yet so as they do not *ponere rumores ante salutem*.

The Queen our sovereign was never so gallant many years, nor so set upon jollity. Her council, and others by compact, had persuaded her to give up the progress into the west for this year, by reason of the hindrance of harvest, by the taking up of carts, and the people's groans; but she is come about again to hold it on, as far as my Lord of Hartford's, which is fifty miles from hence; and order is given yesterday for the remove the same day seven-night; hunting or disporting in the mean time every other day, which is the people's ague; and if things go forward, or

continue the next year as they are in present, will give a motive of exception to Sir Walter Raleigh against the Prophet David, that affirms the age of man, but not as he will think the age of woman, to be seventy years; and whatsoever doth exceed that period, to be *labor et dolor*.

The deputy proceeds in the north * happily against Tyrone, who now lives like a plain kern upon strengths, only hoping of supplies from Spain, having already received coin; and in truth the state here is very doubtful that forces will come, because preparations are made; and though they seem not yet sufficient for such an enterprise, yet many sands make a shelf, many atoms a world, and many springs a river.

The Archduke is arisen with his whole forces from the place where he lay near to Grave, whether for famine, as we say, or for some other design, will appear ere it be long, by observa-

* Of Ireland.

tion of the course which he takes instantly.

Queen Elisabeth never used me in my life so well as she doth now, making a poor use of my aptness for her humour of recreation and jollity, for which I am only fit, being otherwise unable to sound the deeps of her capacity, by the weight of my consideration, in greater things.

If I could envy any thing in the Earl of Marr, it is the comfort of his eye, in beholding with fruition whom I do only see by faith; but since I am so far from envy, as to wish all comforts augmented and multiplied to so worthy and dear a friend, I will humbly and daily in my prayers commend your health and happiness to God, in whom it is *et velle et perficere*; and wishing to your Lordship, as to my soul, rest ever

Most affectionately, devoted

at your commandment,

HENRY HOWARD.

[The

234 L E T T E R XVI.

[The preceding letter was written about the beginning of September 1602, as appears from the mention made of Sir Francis Vere's wound.]

L E T T E R XVI.

Lord Henry Howard to Mr Edward Bruce.

I Had forgotten to advertise you of one thing, Dear Mr Bruce, which is the late discovery made here of traffic between Daniel and George Brooke, brother to Cobham, who sometimes favouring, sometimes taxing his brother's tricks, may be drawn easily to suggest any thing against his old master for his Mecænases. I would not advise secrecy to one, that is more careful of our securities than ourselves; and yet to one that hath so lately served in this house, and under that title may creep into the conceits of well-affected persons,

L E T T E R XVI. 235

fons, it is necessary to put in a caveat, because whatsoever such a one should suggest hither or here at his return, out of the least likelihood, would be reputed *verius evangelio*. *Dixi*, and will ever rest,

Yours most affectionately,
for ever,

HENRY HOWARD *.

* There is no circumstance in this letter from which its date may be discovered.

F I N I S.



